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HORÆ PAULINÆ;

OR, THE

TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURE HISTORY

OF

ST. PAUL EVINCED,

BY A COMPARISON OF THE EPISTLES WHICH BEAR HIS NAME
WITH THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES,
AND WITH ONE ANOTHER.

BY

WILLIAM PALEY, D.D.

WITH NOTES AND A SUPPLEMENTARY TREATISE

ENTITLED

HORÆ APOSTOLICÆ,

BY THE

REV. T. R. BIRKS, A.M.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

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PREFACE.

THE *HORÆ PAULINÆ*, ever since its first appearance, has maintained a high and deserved reputation, not only as a decisive argument for the genuineness of St. Paul's epistles, and the fidelity of St. Luke's narrative, but as a pattern of sagacious and discriminating historical criticism. The strong proof deducible from undesigned coincidences between separate documents, to establish their authenticity, though it must have been felt by many, and may have been partially traced by others in this very case, had never before received so striking a development. No candid reader, after a perusal of the work, can escape the full conviction that the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of St. Paul, forming together nearly one half of the New Testament, could neither be the result of fraud on the part of contemporary authors, nor have an artificial origin in later times, but are certainly what they bear upon their face, a genuine history, and authentic letters of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

The present edition of the work embraces several distinct, but kindred objects. First of all, it has been endeavoured to offer such partial corrections of the original treatise, as further study of the subject, aided by the light of more recent criticism, appeared to require. Secondly and principally, it seemed desirable to extend the argument still further, to glean many coincidences which Paley had overlooked, and to extend the inquiry to the Four Gospels. The *HORÆ APOSTOLICÆ*, which forms the second half of this volume, is the fruit of that design. Many particular coincidences are there brought to light, from the

epistles of St. Paul, including that to the Hebrews, from the book of Acts, and last of all, from the comparison of the gospels with the incidental statements of the letters, and with each other. Their peculiar character here imposed a limit, since the full development of their harmony would involve many inquiries, not easily reconciled with the form of Paley's work, and the cumulative nature of the argument. These topics of evidences are reserved, if occasion should arise, for a distinct work; but the present volume embraces nearly all, in the editor's judgment, that admits of being presented in distinct articles, and in a popular form.

Besides these objects, which refer to the conduct of the argument, it has been endeavoured, in agreement with the great purpose of the Society, under whose sanction the work now appears, to impress on the whole inquiry a practical tone. An intellectual conviction, that the New Testament writings are genuine, is of little worth, unless their saving doctrines are impressed upon the heart. And though I have not thought it desirable, either in the notes or the added treatise, to digress frequently from the direct line of argument, I trust that the whole volume, with the reflections at its close, will commend itself not merely to the intelligence of every thoughtful reader but to the conscience and heart of the sincere Christian, and serve as a humble contribution to the spread of that knowledge of Christ revealed in his own word, which alone is able to make men wise unto salvation.

Two works of a kindred nature have been consulted, in the composition of this treatise—Professor Blunt's "Undesigned Coincidences," which, although chiefly occupied with the Old Testament, include some remarks on the New, and Mr. Biley's "Supplement to the *Horæ Paulinæ*." The former work, highly valuable in the Old Testament portion, has offered me but slight aid in the present subject, as many of the coincidences there suggested appear to me to be either unim-

portant or untenable. Those which appeared of real value have been retained, with an acknowledgment of my obligation. The work of Mr. Biley, though I have been compelled to differ from several of his hypotheses, is much richer in fresh materials. I have usually marked the coincidence, where our views agree, though my own conclusions, except in one or two instances, were formed independently. In other cases, I have felt it right to give the reasons for dissent from his views, as in the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. On the other hand, his remarks on the council, Acts xv. and the probable occasion of the First Epistle of St. Peter, appear to me both original and highly valuable. Some use, though more limited, has also been made of the "Continuous History of St. Paul," by the late Canon Tate.

Besides these, which are more nearly akin to the present volume in their express object, other critical works have been consulted and examined, especially Hug's Introduction, Dr. Burton's "Essay on the Book of Acts," Greswell's learned "Dissertations on the Gospel Harmony," and that able and useful work, "The Literary History of the New Testament," whose author, though well known to many, has preferred to conceal his name. Of these I have been perhaps the most indebted to Mr. Greswell's valuable researches, though the accuracy of his reasoning, especially on points of chronology, by no means rivals the extent of his erudition. I have endeavoured to express my substantial obligations, without encumbering the volume by needless references and incidental discussions, in each case of partial agreement or disagreement.

In compliance with the judgment of an honoured friend, I have closed the work by a chronological table, the result of my own investigations, and which therefore appears to some disadvantage, apart from the arguments by which it should be sustained. Without pretending to a certainty which is hardly attainable, I

feel a strong conviction that the dates, from the death of Herod onward, are within one year of the truth, and have given those which seem to me the most probable, within the limits prescribed by the evidence. The scheme of Dr. Burton, to which Mr. Biley refers as authority, is, in my judgment, illogical and erroneous, and refuted by the very authorities on which the professor has chiefly relied. I am glad to perceive that the dates to which I have been independently led, agree very nearly with those adopted in the *Literary History*; but the writer does not state whether he has borrowed them from others, or deduced them by his own original inquiries. From his view, however, of the dates of St. John's Gospel and the catholic epistles, I am compelled to dissent for many reasons.

And now I commend the volume to the blessing of that gracious Lord, whose message of love and mercy it is designed to illustrate, in its irresistible claims on the faith, the reverence, and the practical allegiance, of every child of man, who, however unversed in ancient history, can read in his own tongue the inspired writings of the new covenant, and may there discern in every page, the traces of Divine wisdom, truth, and holiness.

T. R. BIRKS.

Kelshall Rectory, November 17, 1849.

THE TRUTH

OF THE

SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL EVINCED.

CHAPTER I.

EXPOSITION OF THE ARGUMENT.

THE volume of Christian Scriptures contains thirteen letters purporting to be written by Saint Paul; it contains also a book, which, amongst other things, professes to deliver the history, or rather memoirs of the history, of this same person. By assuming the genuineness of the letters, we may prove the substantial truth of the history; or, by assuming the truth of the history, we may argue strongly in support of the genuineness of the letters. But I assume neither one nor the other. The reader is at liberty to suppose these writings to have been lately discovered in the library of the Escorial, and to come to our hands destitute of any extrinsic or collateral evidence whatever; and the argument I am about to offer is calculated to show, that a comparison of the different writings would, even under these circumstances, afford good reason to believe the persons and transactions to have been real, the letters authentic, and the narration in the main to be true.

Agreement or conformity between letters bearing the name of an ancient author, and a received history of that author's life, does not necessarily establish the credit of either: because,

1. The history may, like Middleton's Life of Cicero, or Jortin's Life of Erasmus, have been wholly, or in part, compiled from the letters: in which case it is manifest that the history adds nothing to the evidence already afforded by the letters; or,

2. The letters may have been fabricated out of the history;

a species of imposture which is certainly practicable, and which, without any accession of proof or authority, would necessarily produce the appearance of consistency and agreement; or

3. The history and letters may have been founded upon some authority common to both; as upon reports and traditions which prevailed in the age in which they were composed, or upon some ancient record now lost, which both writers consulted: in which case also, the letters, without being genuine, may exhibit marks of conformity with the history; and the history, without being true, may agree with the letters.

Agreement, therefore, or conformity, is only to be relied upon so far as we can exclude these several suppositions. Now the point to be noticed is, that in the three cases above enumerated, conformity must be the effect of *design*. Where the history is compiled from the letters, which is the first case, the design and composition of the work are in general so confessed, or made so evident by comparison, as to leave us in no danger of confounding the production with original history, or of mistaking it for an independent authority. The agreement, it is probable, will be close and uniform, and will easily be perceived to result from the intention of the author, and from the plan and conduct of his work.—Where the letters are fabricated from the history, which is the second case, it is always for the purpose of imposing a forgery upon the public; and in order to give colour and probability to the fraud, names, places, and circumstances, found in the history, may be studiously introduced into the letters, as well as a general consistency be endeavoured to be maintained. But here it is manifest that whatever congruity appears, is the consequence of meditation, artifice, and design.—The third case is that wherein the history and the letters, without any direct privity or communication with each other, derive their materials from the same source; and, by reason of their common original, furnish instances of accordance and correspondency. This is a situation in which we must allow it to be possible for ancient writings to be placed; and it is a situation in which it is more difficult to distinguish spurious from genuine writings, than in either of the cases described in the preceding suppositions; inasmuch as the congruities observable are so far accidental, as that they are not produced by the immediate transplanting of names and circumstances out of one writing into the other. But although, with respect to each other, the agreement in these writings be

mediate and secondary, yet is it not properly or absolutely undesigned : because, with respect to the common original from which the information of the writer proceeds, it is studied and factitious. The case of which we treat must, as to the letters, be a case of forgery : and when the writer who is personating another sits down to his composition—whether we have the history with which we now compare the letters, or some other record before him ; or whether we have only loose tradition and reports to go by—he must adapt his imposture, as well as he can, to what he finds in these accounts ; and his adaptations will be the result of counsel, scheme, and industry : art must be employed ; and vestiges will appear of management and design. Add to this, that, in most of the following examples, the circumstances in which the coincidence is remarked are of too particular and domestic a nature to have floated down upon the stream of general tradition.

Of the three cases which we have stated, the difference between the first and the two others is, that in the first the design may be fair and honest, in the others it must be accompanied with the consciousness of fraud ; but in all there is design. In examining, therefore, the agreement between ancient writings, the character of truth and originality is undesignedness : and this test applies to every supposition ; for, whether we suppose the history to be true, but the letters spurious ; or, the letters to be genuine, but the history false ; or, lastly, falsehood to belong to both—the history to be a fable, and the letters fictitious : the same inference will result—that either there will be no agreement between them, or the agreement will be the effect of design. Nor will it elude the principle of this rule, to suppose the same person to have been the author of all the letters, or even the author both of the letters and the history ; for no less design is necessary to produce coincidence between different parts of a man's own writings, especially when they are made to take the different forms of a history and of original letters, than to adjust them to the circumstances found in any other writing.

With respect to those writings of the New Testament which are to be the subject of our present consideration, I think that, as to the authenticity of the epistles, this argument, where it is sufficiently sustained by instances, is nearly conclusive ; for I cannot assign a supposition of forgery, in which coincidences of the kind we inquire after are likely to appear. As to the

history, it extends to these points:—It proves the general reality of the circumstances; it proves the historian's knowledge of these circumstances. In the present instance it confirms his pretensions of having been a contemporary, and in the latter part of his history a companion, of St. Paul. In a word, it establishes the substantial truth of the narration; and *substantial* truth is that which, in every historical inquiry, ought to be the first thing sought after and ascertained: it must be the groundwork of every other observation.

The reader then will please to remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend.

As to the proofs of undesignedness, I shall in this place say little; for I had rather the reader's persuasion should arise from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they may be accompanied, than from any previous formulary or description of argument. In a great plurality of examples, I trust he will be perfectly convinced that no design or contrivance whatever has been exercised: and if some of the coincidences alleged appear to be minute, circuitous, or oblique, let him reflect that this very indirectness and subtilty is that which gives force and propriety to the example. Broad, obvious, and explicit agreements, prove little; because it may be suggested that the insertion of such is the ordinary expedient of every forgery: and though they may occur, and probably will occur in genuine writings, yet it cannot be proved that they are peculiar to these. Thus what St. Paul declares in chap. xi. of 1 Cor. concerning the institution of the eucharist—"For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me"—though it be in close and verbal conformity with the account of the same transaction preserved by St. Luke, is yet a conformity of which no use can be made in our argument; for if it should be objected that this was a mere recital from the Gospel, borrowed by the author of the epistle, for the purpose of setting off his composition by an appearance of agreement with the received account of the Lord's supper, I should not know how to repel the insinuation. In like manner, the description which St. Paul gives of himself in his Epistle to the Philipians (iii. 5).—"Circumcised the

eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless,"—is made up of particulars so plainly delivered concerning him in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Galatians, that I cannot deny but that it would be easy for an impostor, who was fabricating a letter in the name of St. Paul, to collect these articles into one view. This, therefore, is a conformity which we do not adduce. But when I read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when "Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman, *which was a Jewess*;" and when, in an epistle addressed to Timothy, I find him reminded of his "having known the Holy Scriptures *from a child*," which implies that he must, on one side or both, have been brought up by Jewish parents: I conceive that I remark a coincidence which shows, by its very *obliquity*, that scheme was not employed in its formation. In like manner, if a coincidence depend upon a comparison of dates, or rather of circumstances from which the dates are gathered—the more intricate that comparison shall be; the more numerous the intermediate steps through which the conclusion is deduced; in a word, the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better, because the agreement which finally results is thereby further removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design. And it should be remembered, concerning these coincidences, that it is one thing to be minute, and another to be precarious; one thing to be unobserved, and another to be obscure; one thing to be circuitous or oblique, and another to be forced, dubious, or fanciful. And this distinction ought always to be retained in our thoughts.

The very particularity of St. Paul's epistles; the perpetual recurrence of names of persons and places; the frequent allusions to the incidents of his private life, and the circumstances of his condition and history; and the connexion and parallelism of these with the same circumstances in the Acts of the Apostles, so as to enable us, for the most part, to confront them one with another; as well as the relation which subsists between the circumstances, as mentioned or referred to in the different epistles—afford no inconsiderable proof of the genuineness of the writings, and the reality of the transactions. For as no

advertency is sufficient to guard against slips and contradictions, when circumstances are multiplied, and when they are liable to be detected by contemporary accounts equally circumstantial, an impostor, I should expect, would either have avoided particulars entirely, contenting himself with doctrinal discussions, moral precepts, and general reflections;* or if, for the sake of imitating St. Paul's style, he should have thought it necessary to intersperse his composition with names and circumstances, he would have placed them out of the reach of comparison with the history. And I am confirmed in this opinion by the inspection of two attempts to counterfeit St. Paul's epistles, which have come down to us; and the only attempts, of which we have any knowledge, that are at all deserving of regard. One of these is an epistle to the Laodiceans, extant in Latin, and preserved by Fabricius in his collection of apocryphal scriptures. The other purports to be an epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in answer to an epistle from the Corinthians to him. This was translated by Scroderus from a copy in the Armenian language which had been sent to W. Whiston, and was afterwards from a more perfect copy procured at Aleppo, published by his sons, as an appendix to their edition of Moses Chorenensis. No Greek copy exists of either: they are not only not supported by ancient testimony, but they are negatived and excluded; as they have never found admission into any catalogue of apostolical writings, acknowledged by, or known to, the early ages of Christianity. In the first of these I found, as I expected, a total *evitation* of circumstances. It is simply a collection of sentences from the canonical epistles, strung together with very little skill. The second, which is a more versute and specious forgery, is introduced with a list of names of persons who wrote to St. Paul from Corinth; and is preceded by an account sufficiently particular of the manner in which the epistle was sent from Corinth to St. Paul, and the answer returned.

* This, however, must not be misunderstood. A person writing to his friends, and upon a subject in which the transactions of his own life were concerned, would probably be led in the course of his letter, especially if it were a long one, to refer to passages found in his history. A person addressing an epistle to the public at large, or under the form of an epistle delivering a discourse upon some speculative argument, would not, it is probable, meet with an occasion of alluding to the circumstances of his life at all: he might, or he might not; the chance on either side is nearly equal. This is the situation of the Catholic epistles. Although, therefore, the presence of these allusions and agreements be a valuable accession to the arguments by which the authenticity of a letter is maintained, yet the want of them certainly forms no positive objection.

But they are names which no one ever heard of; and the account it is impossible to combine with anything found in the Acts, or in the other epistles. It is not necessary for me to point out the internal marks of spuriousness and imposture which these compositions betray; but it was necessary to observe, that they do not afford those coincidences which we propose as proofs of authenticity in the epistles which we defend.

Having explained the general scheme and formation of the argument, I may be permitted to subjoin a brief account of the manner of conducting it.

I have disposed the several instances of agreement under separate numbers; as well to mark more sensibly the divisions of the subject, as for another purpose, namely, that the reader may thereby be reminded that the instances are independent of one another. I have advanced nothing which I did not think probable; but the degree of probability, by which different instances are supported, is undoubtedly very different. If the reader, therefore, meets with a number which contains an instance that appears to him unsatisfactory, or founded in mistake, he will dismiss that number from the argument, but without prejudice to any other. He will have occasion also to observe, that the coincidences discoverable in some epistles are much fewer and weaker than what are supplied by others. But he will add to his observation this important circumstance—that whatever ascertains the original of one epistle, in some measure establishes the authority of the rest. For, whether these epistles be genuine or spurious, everything about them indicates that they come from the same hand. The diction, which it is extremely difficult to imitate, preserves its resemblance and peculiarity throughout all the epistles. Numerous expressions and singularities of style, found in no other part of the New Testament, are repeated in different epistles; and occur in their respective places, without the smallest appearance of force or art. An involved argumentation, frequent obscurities, especially in the order and transition of thought, piety, vehemence, affection, bursts of rapture, and of unparalleled sublimity, are properties, all or most of them, discernible in every letter of the collection. But although these epistles bear strong marks of proceeding from the same hand, I think it is still more certain that they were originally separate publications. They form no continued story; they compose no

regular correspondence ; they comprise not the transactions of any particular period ; they carry on no connexion of argument ; they depend not upon one another ; except in one or two instances, they refer not to one another. I will farther undertake to say, that no study or care has been employed to produce or preserve an appearance of consistency amongst them. All which observations show that they were not intended by the person, whoever he was, that wrote them, to come forth or be read together : that they appeared at first separately, and have been collected since.

The proper purpose of the following work is to bring together, from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the different epistles, such passages as furnish examples of undesigned coincidence ; but I have so far enlarged upon this plan, as to take into it some circumstances found in the epistles, which contributed strength to the conclusion, though not strictly objects of comparison.

It appeared also a part of the same plan, to examine the difficulties which presented themselves in the course of our inquiry.

I do not know that the subject has been proposed or considered in this view before. Ludovicus, Capellus, bishop Pearson, Dr. Benson, and Dr. Lardner, have each given a continued history of St. Paul's life, made up from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles joined together. But this, it is manifest, is a different undertaking from the present, and directed to a different purpose.

If what is here offered shall add one thread to that complication of probabilities by which the Christian history is attested, the reader's attention will be repaid by the supreme importance of the subject ; and my design will be fully answered.

CHAPTER II.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

No. I.

THE first passage I shall produce from this epistle, and upon which a good deal of observation will be founded, is the following :

“ But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints.

For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem," Rom. xv. 25, 26.

In this quotation three distinct circumstances are stated—a contribution in Macedonia for the relief of the Christians of Jerusalem, a contribution in Achaia for the same purpose, and an intended journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem. These circumstances are stated as taking place at the same time, and that to be the time when the epistle was written. Now let us inquire whether we can find these circumstances elsewhere; and whether, if we do find them, they meet together in respect of date. Turn to the Acts of the Apostles, chap. xx. ver. 2, 3, and you read the following account: "When he had gone over those parts, (namely, Macedonia,) and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, *as he was about to sail into Syria*, he proposed to return through Macedonia." From this passage, compared with the account of St. Paul's travels given before, and from the sequel of the chapter, it appears that upon St. Paul's *second* visit to the peninsula of Greece, his intention was, when he should leave the country, to proceed from Achaia directly by sea to Syria; but that, to avoid the Jews, who were lying in wait to intercept him in his route, he so far changed his purpose as to go back through Macedonia, embark at Philippi, and pursue his voyage from thence towards Jerusalem. Here therefore is a journey to Jerusalem, but not a syllable of any contribution. And as St. Paul had taken several journeys to Jerusalem before, and one also immediately after his *first* visit into the peninsula of Greece, (Acts xviii. 21,) it cannot from hence be collected in which of these visits the epistle was written, or with certainty that it was written in either. The silence of the historian, who professes to have been with St. Paul at the time, (chap. xx. ver. 6,) concerning any contribution, might lead us to look out for some different journey, or might induce us perhaps to question the consistency of the two records, did not a very accidental reference, in another part of the same history, afford us sufficient ground to believe that this silence was omission. When St. Paul made his reply before Felix, to the accusations of Tertullus, he alleged, as was natural, that neither the errand which brought him to Jerusalem, nor his conduct whilst he remained there, merited the calumnies with

which the Jews had aspersed him: "Now after many years (that is, of absence) *I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings.* Whereupon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult, who ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me," Acts xxiv. 17-19. This mention of alms and offerings certainly brings the narrative in the Acts nearer to an accordancy with the epistle; yet no one, I am persuaded, will suspect that this clause was put into St. Paul's defence, either to supply the omission in the preceding narrative, or with any view to such accordancy.

After all, nothing is yet said or hinted concerning the *place* of the contribution; nothing concerning Macedonia and Achaia. Turn therefore to the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xvi. ver. 1-4, and you have St. Paul delivering the following directions: "Concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." In this passage we find a contribution carrying on at Corinth, the capital of Achaia, for the Christians of Jerusalem: we find also a hint given of the possibility of St. Paul going up to Jerusalem himself, after he had paid his visit into Achaia: but this is spoken of rather as a possibility than as any settled intention; for his first thought was, "Whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I *send* to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem:" and in the sixth verse he adds, "That ye may bring me on my journey *whithersoever* I go." This epistle purports to be written after St. Paul had been at Corinth; for it refers throughout to what he had done and said amongst them whilst he was there. The expression, therefore, "when I come," must relate to a *second* visit; against which visit the contribution spoken of was desired to be in readiness.

But though the contribution in Achaia be expressly mentioned, nothing is here said concerning any contribution in Macedonia. Turn therefore, in the third place, to the second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii. ver. 1-4, and you will discover the particular which remains to be sought for:

“Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the *churches of Macedonia*; how that in a great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power they were willing of themselves; praying us with much entreaty that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the ministering to the saints.” To which add, chap. ix. ver. 2: “I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago.” In this epistle we find St. Paul advanced as far as Macedonia, upon that *second* visit to Corinth which he promised in his former epistle: we find also, in the passages now quoted from it, that a contribution was going on in Macedonia at the same time with, or soon however following, the contribution which was made in Achaia; but for whom the contribution was made does not appear in this epistle at all: that information must be supplied from the first epistle.

Here therefore, at length, but fetched from three different writings, we have obtained the several circumstances we inquired after, and which the Epistle to the Romans brings together, namely, a contribution in Achaia for the Christians of Jerusalem; a contribution in Macedonia for the same; and an approaching journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem. We have these circumstances—each by some hint in the passage in which it is mentioned, or by the date of the writing in which the passage occurs—fixed to a particular time; and we have that time turning out, upon examination, to be in all the *same*, namely, towards the close of St. Paul’s second visit to the peninsula of Greece. This is an instance of conformity beyond the possibility, I will venture to say, of random writing to produce; I also assert, that it is in the highest degree improbable that it should have been the effect of contrivance and design. The imputation of *design* amounts to this: that the forger of the Epistle to the Romans inserted in it the passage upon which our observations are founded, for the purpose of giving colour to his forgery by the appearance of conformity with other writings which were then extant. I reply, in the first place, that if he did this to countenance his forgery, he did it for the purpose of an argument which would not strike one reader in ten thousand. Coincidences so circuitous as this answer not the ends of forgery; are seldom, I believe, attempted by it.

In the second place, I observe that he must have had the Acts of the Apostles, and the two epistles to the Corinthians, before him at the time. In the Acts of the Apostles, (I mean that part of the Acts which relates to this period,) he would have found the journey to Jerusalem; but nothing about the contribution. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians he would have found a contribution going on in Achaia for the Christians of Jerusalem, and a distant hint of the possibility of the journey; but nothing concerning a contribution in Macedonia. In the second Epistle to the Corinthians he would have found a contribution in Macedonia accompanying that in Achaia; but no intimation for whom either was intended, and not a word about the journey. It was only by a close and attentive collation of the three writings, that he could have picked out the circumstances which he has united in his epistle, and, by a still more nice examination, that he could have determined them to belong to the same period. In the third place, I remark, what diminishes very much the suspicion of fraud, how aptly and connectedly the mention of the circumstances in question, namely, the journey to Jerusalem, and of the occasion of that journey, arises from the context: "Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company. *But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.* It hath pleased them verily, and their debtors they are; for if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things. When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain." Is the passage in *Italics* like a passage foisted in for an extraneous purpose? Does it not arise from what goes before, by a junction as easy as any example of writing upon real business can furnish? Could anything be more natural than that St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, should speak of the time when he hoped to visit them; should mention the business which then detained him; and that he purposed to set forwards upon his journey to them, when that business was completed?

No. II.*

[N.B.—The asterisk indicates that additions to the numbers so marked are to be found in the Supplement, entitled *Horæ Apostolicæ*.]

By means of the quotation which formed the subject of the preceding number, we collect that the Epistle to the Romans was written at the conclusion of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece; but this we collect, not from the epistle itself, nor from anything *declared* concerning the time and place in any part of the epistle, but from a comparison of circumstances referred to in the epistle, with the order of events recorded in the Acts, and with references to the same circumstances, though for quite different purposes, in the two epistles to the Corinthians. Now, would the author of a forgery, who sought to gain credit to a spurious letter by congruities, depending upon the time and place in which the letter was supposed to be written, have left that time and place to be made out, in a manner so obscure and indirect as this is? If therefore coincidences of circumstances can be pointed out in this epistle depending upon its date, or the place where it was written, whilst that date and place are only ascertained by other circumstances, such coincidences may fairly be stated as *undesigned*. Under this head I adduce

Chap. xvi. 21–23. “Timotheus my workfellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you. I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord. Gaius, mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you; and Quartus, a brother.” With this passage I compare Acts xx. 4. “And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and, of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus.” The Epistle to the Romans, we have seen, was written just before St. Paul's departure from Greece, after his second visit to that peninsula: the persons mentioned in the quotation from the Acts are those who accompanied him in that departure. Of seven whose names are joined in the salutation of the church of Rome, three, namely, Sosipater, Gaius, and Timothy, are proved, by this passage in the Acts, to have been with St. Paul at the time. And this is perhaps as much coincidence as could be expected from reality, though less, I am apt to think, than would have been produced by design. Four are mentioned in the Acts who are not joined in the salutation; and it is in the nature of the case probable that

there should be many attending St. Paul in Greece who knew nothing of the converts at Rome, nor were known by them. In like manner, several are joined in the salutation who are not mentioned in the passage referred to in the Acts. This also was to be expected. The occasion of mentioning them in the Acts was their proceeding with St. Paul upon his journey. But we may be sure that there were many eminent Christians with St. Paul in Greece, besides those who accompanied him into Asia.* (a)

But if any one shall still contend that a forger of the epistle, with the Acts of the Apostles before him, and having settled this scheme of writing a letter as from St. Paul upon his second visit into Greece, would easily think of the expedient of putting in the names of those persons who appeared to be with St. Paul at the time as an obvious recommendation of the imposture: I then repeat my observations; first, that he would have made the catalogue more complete; and, secondly, that with this contrivance in his thoughts, it was certainly his business, in order to avail himself of the artifice, to have stated in the body of the epistle that Paul was in Greece when he wrote it, and that he was there upon his second visit: neither

* Of these Jason is one, whose presence upon this occasion is very naturally accounted for. Jason was an inhabitant of Thessalonica in Macedonia, and entertained St. Paul in his house upon his first visit to that country. Acts xvii. 7.—St. Paul, upon this his second visit, passed through Macedonia, on his way to Greece, and from the situation of Thessalonica, most likely through that city. It appears, from various instances in the Acts, to have been the practice of many converts to attend St. Paul from place to place. It is therefore highly probable, I mean that it is highly consistent with the account in the history, that Jason, according to that account a zealous disciple, the inhabitant of a city at no great distance from Greece, and through which, as it should seem, St. Paul had lately passed, should have accompanied St. Paul into Greece, and have been with him there at this time. Lucius is another name in the epistle. A very slight alteration would convert Λουκιος into Λουκας, Lucius into Luke, which would produce an additional coincidence: for, if Luke was the author of the history, he was with St. Paul at the time; inasmuch as, describing the voyage which took place soon after the writing of this epistle, the historian uses the first person, "We sailed away from Philippi," Acts xx. 6.

(a) It is here assumed that Gaius of Derbe and Gaius of Corinth were the same person; but it seems more probable that they were different, and it is even possible that Gaius the Macedonian might be distinct from both. No name, perhaps, was more frequent among the citizens of the Roman world. Even if Gaius of Derbe had afterwards settled in Macedonia, and was called a Macedonian from his abode, Acts xix. 29, still it is clear that he could not be the same with the other Gaius, who was baptized by St. Paul at Corinth, and held an eminent place in the Corinthian church. We find, still later, another Gaius in the church at Ephesus.

Again, it does not seem likely that Lucius is another name of St. Luke. In the first place, Luke is a contracted form of Lucanus, as Silas of Silvanus, and Lucius and Lucanus are two Roman names entirely distinct from each other, for one is a *prænomen* and the other a surname. It is very unlikely that St. Paul would style the same person Lucius in this one epistle and Lucas in two others. And again, the history rather implies that St. Luke and the apostle met again at Philippi, and not at Corinth. But these corrections do not affect the force of Paley's general argument in the above article.—*Edmon.*

of which he has done, either directly, or even so as to be discoverable by any circumstance found in the narrative delivered in the Acts.

Under the same head, namely, of coincidences depending upon date, I cite from the epistle the following salutation: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus: who have for my life laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles," (chap. xvi. 3.) It appears from the Acts of the Apostles, that Priscilla and Aquila had originally been inhabitants of Rome; for we read, Acts xviii. 2, that Paul "found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla; (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from *Rome*.)" They were connected, therefore, with the place to which the salutations are sent. That is one coincidence; another is the following: St. Paul became acquainted with these persons at Corinth during his first visit into Greece. They accompanied him upon his return into Asia; were settled for some time at Ephesus, Acts xviii. 19-26; and appear to have been with St. Paul when he wrote from that place his first Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 19; not long after the writing of which epistle St. Paul went from Ephesus into Macedonia, and, "after he had gone over those parts," proceeded from thence upon his second visit into Greece; during which visit, or rather at the conclusion of it, the Epistle to the Romans, as hath been shown, was written. We have therefore the time of St. Paul's residence at Ephesus after he had written to the Corinthians, the time taken up by his progress through Macedonia, (which is indefinite, and was probably considerable,) and his three months' abode in Greece; we have the sum of those three periods allowed for Aquila and Priscilla going back to Rome, so as to be there when the epistle before us was written. Now what this quotation leads us to observe is, the danger of scattering names and circumstances in writings like the present, how implicated they often are with dates and places, and that nothing but truth can preserve consistency. Had the notes of time in the Epistle to the Romans fixed the writing of it to any date prior to St. Paul's first residence at Corinth, the salutation of Aquila and Priscilla would have contradicted the history, because it would have been prior to his acquaintance with these persons. If

the notes of time had fixed it to any period during *that* residence at Corinth, during his journey to Jerusalem when he first returned out of Greece, during his stay at Antioch, whither he went down to Jerusalem, or during his second progress through the Lesser Asia, upon which he proceeded from Antioch, an equal contradiction would have been incurred; because from Acts xviii. 2-18, 19-26, it appears that during all this time Aquila and Priscilla were either along with St. Paul, or were abiding at Ephesus. Lastly, had the notes of time in this epistle, which we have seen to be perfectly incidental, compared with the notes of time in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, which are equally incidental, fixed this epistle to be either contemporary with that or prior to it, a similar contradiction would have ensued; because, first, when the Epistle to the Corinthians was written, Aquila and Priscilla were along with St. Paul, as they joined in the salutation of that church, 1 Cor. xvi. 19: and because, secondly, the history does not allow us to suppose that between the time of their becoming acquainted with St. Paul and the time of St. Paul's writing to the Corinthians, Aquila and Priscilla could have gone to Rome, so as to have been saluted in an epistle to that city; and then come back to St. Paul at Ephesus, so as to be joined with him in saluting the church of Corinth. As it is, all things are consistent. The Epistle to the Romans is posterior even to the second Epistle to the Corinthians; because it speaks of a contribution in Achaia being completed, which the second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii., is only soliciting. It is sufficiently, therefore, posterior to the first Epistle to the Corinthians to allow time in the interval for Aquila and Priscilla's return from Ephesus to Rome.

Before we dismiss these two persons, we may take notice of the terms of commendation in which St. Paul describes them, and of the agreement of that encomium with the history. "My helpers in Christ Jesus: who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles." In the eighteenth chapter of the Acts, we are informed that Aquila and Priscilla were Jews; that St. Paul first met with them at Corinth; that for some time he abode in the same house with them; that St. Paul's contention at Corinth was with the unbelieving Jews, who at first "opposed and blasphemed," and afterwards "with one accord raised an insurrection" against him; that

Aquila and Priscilla adhered, we may conclude, to St. Paul throughout this whole contest; for, when he left the city, they went with him, Acts xviii. 18. Under these circumstances, it is highly probable that they should be involved in the dangers and persecutions which St. Paul underwent from the Jews, being themselves Jews; and, by adhering to St. Paul in this dispute, deserters, as they would be accounted, of the Jewish cause. Further, as they, though Jews, were assisting to St. Paul in preaching to the Gentiles at Corinth, they had taken a decided part in the great controversy of that day, the admission of the Gentiles to a parity of religious situation with the Jews. For this conduct alone, if there was no other reason, they may seem to have been entitled to "thanks from the churches of the Gentiles." They were Jews taking part with Gentiles. Yet is all this so indirectly intimated, or rather so much of it left to inference, in the account given in the Acts, that I do not think it probable that a forger either could or would have drawn his representation from thence; and still less probable do I think it, that, without having seen the Acts, he could, by mere accident, and without truth for his guide, have delivered a representation so conformable to the circumstances there recorded. (b)

The two congruities last adduced depended upon the time, the two following regard the place, of the epistle.

1. Chap. xvi. 23. "Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you"—of what city? We have seen, that is, we have inferred from circumstances found in the epistle, compared with circumstances found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the two epistles to the Corinthians, that our epistle was written during St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece. Again, as St. Paul, in his epistle to the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, speaks of a collection going on in that city, and of his desire that it might be ready against he came thither; and as in this epistle he speaks of that collection being ready, it follows that the epistle was written either whilst he was at Corinth, or after he had been there. Thirdly, since St. Paul speaks in this epistle of his journey to Jerusalem, as about instantly to take place; and as we learn, Acts xx. 3, that his design and attempt was to sail upon that journey immediately from Greece, properly so called, that is, as

(b) See *Horæ Apostolicæ*, cap. v. No. III. for a more probable explanation of the phrase, which renders it a still more striking confirmation of the present argument.—Ed.

distinguished from Macedonia; it is probable that he was in this country when he wrote the epistle, in which he speaks of himself as upon the eve of setting out. If in Greece, he was most likely at Corinth; for the two epistles to the Corinthians show that the principal end of his coming into Greece was to visit that city, where he had founded a church. Certainly we know no place in Greece in which his presence was so probable; at least, the placing of him at Corinth satisfies every circumstance. Now that Erastus was an inhabitant of Corinth, or had some connexion with Corinth, is rendered a fair subject of presumption, by that which is accidentally said of him in the second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iv. 20, "Erastus abode at *Corinth*." St. Paul complains of his solitude, and is telling Timothy what was become of his companions: "Erastus abode at Corinth; but Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick." Erastus was one of those who had attended St. Paul in his travels, Acts xix. 22; and when those travels had upon some occasion, brought our apostle and his train to Corinth, Erastus stayed there, for no reason so probable as that it was his home. I allow that this coincidence is not so precise as some others, yet I think it too clear to be produced by accident; for of the many places which this same epistle has assigned to different persons, and the innumerable others which it might have mentioned, how came it to fix upon Corinth for Erastus? And as far as it is a coincidence, it is certainly undesigned on the part of the author of the Epistle to the Romans: because he has not told us of what city Erastus was the chamberlain; or, which is the same thing, from what city the epistle was written, the setting forth of which was absolutely necessary to the display of the coincidence, if any such display had been thought of: nor could the author of the Epistle to Timothy leave Erastus at Corinth, from anything he might have read in the Epistle to the Romans, because Corinth is nowhere in that epistle mentioned either by name or description.

2. Chap. xvi. 1-3. "I commend unto you Phebe, our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea: that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you; for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also." Cenchrea adjoined to Corinth; St. Paul, therefore, at the time of writing the letter, was in the neighbourhood of the woman

whom he thus recommends. But, further, that St. Paul had before this been at Cenchrea itself, appears from the eighteenth chapter of the Acts; and appears by a circumstance as incidental, and as unlike design, as any that can be imagined. "Paul after this tarried there (namely, at Corinth) yet a good while, and then took his leave of his brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shorn his head ~~in~~ Cenchrea: for he had a vow," (xviii. 18.) The shaving of the head denoted the expiration of the Nazaritic vow. The historian, therefore, by the mention of this circumstance, virtually tells us that St. Paul's vow was expired before he set forward upon his voyage, having deferred probably his departure until he should be released from the restrictions under which his vow laid him. Shall we say that the author of the Acts of the Apostles feigned this anecdote of St. Paul at Cenchrea, because he had read in the Epistle to the Romans that "Phebe, a servant of the church of Cenchrea, had been a succourer of many, and of him also?" Or shall we say that the author of the Epistle to the Romans, out of his own imagination, created Phebe "*a servant of the church of Cenchrea*," because he read in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul had "shorn his head" in that place?

No. III.* (c)

Chap. i. 13. "Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that *oftentimes I purposed to come unto you*, (but was let hitherto,) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles." Again, xv. 23, 24, "But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years (*πολλα* oftentimes) to come unto you; whensoever I take my journey into Spain I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you.—But now I go up unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints.—When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."

With these passages compare Acts xix. 21, "After these things were ended, (namely, at Ephesus,) Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."

Let it be observed, that our epistle purports to have been

(c) Compare *Horn's* Apost. cap. v. No. II.—ED.

written at the conclusion of St. Paul's second journey into Greece: that the quotation from the Acts contains words said to have been spoken by St. Paul at Ephesus, some time before he set forwards upon that journey. Now I contend that it is impossible that two independent fictions should have attributed to St. Paul the same purpose,—especially a purpose so specific and particular as this, which was not merely a general design, of visiting Rome after he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, and after he had performed a voyage from these countries to Jerusalem. The conformity between the history and the epistle is perfect. In the first quotation, from the epistle, we find that a design of visiting Rome had long dwelt in the apostle's mind: in the quotation from the Acts, we find that design expressed a considerable time before the epistle was written. In the history we find that the plan which St. Paul had formed was, to pass through Macedonia and Achaia; after that, to go to Jerusalem; and, when he had finished his visit there, to sail for Rome. When the epistle was written, he had executed so much of his plan, as to have passed through Macedonia and Achaia; and was preparing to pursue the remainder of it, by speedily setting out towards Jerusalem; and in this point of his travels he tells his friends at Rome that, when he had completed the business which carried him to Jerusalem, he would come to them. Secondly, I say that the very inspection of the passages will satisfy us that they were not made up from one another.

“Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you.—But now I go up unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints.—When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.”—This from the epistle.

“Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome.”—This from the Acts.

If the passage in the epistle was taken from that in the Acts, why was *Spain* put in? If the passage in the Acts was taken from that in the epistle, why was *Spain* left out? If the two passages were unknown to each other, nothing can account for their conformity but truth. Whether we suppose the history and the epistle to be alike fictitious, or the history to be true but the letter spurious, or the letter to be genuine

but the history a fable, the meeting with this circumstance in both, if neither borrowed it from the other, is, upon all these suppositions, equally inexplicable.

No. IV.

The following quotation I offer for the purpose of pointing out a geographical coincidence, of so much importance, that Dr. Lardner considered it as a confirmation of the whole history of St. Paul's travels:

Chap. xv. 19. "So that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ."

I do not think that these words necessarily import that St. Paul had penetrated into Illyricum, or preached the gospel in that province; but rather that he had come to the confines of Illyricum (*μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ*), and that these confines were the external boundary of his travels. St. Paul considers Jerusalem as the centre, and is here viewing the circumference to which his travels extended. The form of expression in the original conveys this idea—*ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ*. Illyricum was the part of this circle which he mentions in an epistle to the Romans, because it lay in a direction from Jerusalem towards that city, and pointed out to the Roman readers the nearest place to them, to which his travels from Jerusalem had brought him. The name of Illyricum nowhere occurs in the Acts of the Apostles; no suspicion therefore, can be received that the mention of it was borrowed from thence. Yet I think it appears, from these same Acts, that St. Paul, before the time when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, had reached the confines of Illyricum; or, however, that he might have done so, in perfect consistency with the account there delivered. Illyricum adjoins upon Macedonia; measuring from Jerusalem towards Rome, it lies close behind it. If, therefore, St. Paul traversed the whole country of Macedonia, the route would necessarily bring him to the confines of Illyricum, and these confines would be described as the extremity of his journey. Now the account of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece is contained in these words: "He departed for to go into Macedonia. *And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece.*" (Acts xx. 2.) This account allows, or rather leads us to suppose, that St. Paul, in going over Macedonia (*διελθὼν τὰ μέρη*

ἐκεῖνα), had passed so far to the west, as to come into those parts of the country which were contiguous to Illyricum, if he did not enter into Illyricum itself. The history, therefore, and the epistles so far agree, and the agreement is much strengthened by a coincidence of *time*. At the time the epistle was written, St. Paul might say, in conformity with the history, that he had "come into Illyricum;" much before that time, he could not have said so; for, upon his former journey to Macedonia, his route is laid down from the time of his landing at Philippi to his sailing from Corinth. We trace him from Philippi to Amphipolis and Apollonia; from thence to Thessalonica; from Thessalonica to Berea; from Berea to Athens; and from Athens to Corinth: which track confines him to the eastern side of the peninsula, and therefore keeps him all the while at a considerable distance from Illyricum. Upon his second visit to Macedonia, the history, we have seen, leaves him at liberty. It must have been, therefore, upon that second visit, if at all, that he approached Illyricum; and this visit, we know, almost immediately preceded the writing of the epistle. It was natural that the apostle should refer to a journey which was fresh in his thoughts.

No. V.

Chap. xv. 30. "Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe, in Judæa."
—With this compare Acts xx. 22, 23:

"And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there, save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me."

Let it be remarked, that it is the same journey to Jerusalem which is spoken of in these two passages; that the epistle was written immediately before St. Paul set forwards upon this journey from Achaia; that the words in the Acts were uttered by him when he had proceeded in that journey as far as Miletus, in Lesser Asia. This being remembered, I observe that the two passages, without any resemblance between them that could induce us to suspect that they were borrowed from one another, represent the state of St. Paul's mind, with respect to the event of the journey, in terms of substantial

agreement. They both express his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem: they both express the doubt which dwelt upon his thoughts concerning what might there befall him. When, in his epistle, he entreats the Roman Christians, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit," to strive together with him in their prayers to God for him, that he might "be delivered from them that do not believe in Judæa," he sufficiently confesses his fears. In the Acts of the Apostles we see in him the same apprehensions, and the same uncertainty: "I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, *not knowing* the things that shall befall me there." The only difference is, that in the history his thoughts are more inclined to despondency than in the epistle. In the epistle he retains his hope "that he should come unto them with joy by the will of God:" in the history, his mind yields to the reflection, "that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city that bonds and afflictions awaited him." Now that his fears should be greater, and his hopes less, in this stage of his journey than when he wrote his epistle, that is, when he first set out upon it, is no other alteration than might well be expected; since those prophetic intimations to which he refers, when he says, "the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city," had probably been received by him in the course of his journey, and were probably similar to what we know he received in the remaining part of it at Tyre, xxi. 4; and afterwards from Agabus at Cæsarea, xxi. 11.

No. VI.

There is another strong remark arising from the same passage in the epistle; to make which understood, it will be necessary to state the passage over again, and somewhat more at length:

"I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe, in Judæa—that I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed."

I desire the reader to call to mind *that* part of St. Paul's history which took place after his arrival at Jerusalem, and which employs the last seven chapters of the Acts; and I build upon it this observation—that supposing the Epistle to the Romans to have been a forgery, and the author of the

forgery to have had the Acts of the Apostles before him, and to have there seen that St. Paul, in fact, was *not* delivered from the unbelieving Jews, but on the contrary, that he was taken into custody at Jerusalem, and brought to Rome a prisoner—it is next to impossible that he should have made St. Paul express expectations so contrary to what he saw had been the event; and utter prayers, with apparent hopes of success, which he must have known were frustrated in the issue. (d)

This single consideration convinces me, that no concert or confederacy whatever subsisted between the epistle and the Acts of the Apostles; and that whatever coincidences have been or can be pointed out between them are unsophisticated, and are the result of truth and reality.

It also convinces me that the epistle was written not only in St. Paul's lifetime, but before he arrived at Jerusalem; for the important events relating to him which took place after his arrival at that city must have been known to the Christian community soon after they happened: they form the most public part of his history. But had they been known to the author of the epistle—in other words, had they then taken place—the passage which we have quoted from the epistle would not have been found there.

No. VII.

I now proceed to state the conformity which exists between the argument of this epistle and the history of its reputed author. It is enough for this purpose to observe, that the object of the epistle, that is, of the argumentative part of it, was to place the Gentile convert upon a parity of situation with the Jewish, in respect of his religious condition, and his rank in the Divine favour. The epistle supports this point by a variety of arguments; such as, that no man of either description was justified by the works of the law—for this plain reason, that no man had performed them; that it became therefore necessary to appoint another medium or condition of

(d) The contrast between the prayer and hope of St. Paul and the actual event is here stated rather too strongly. He was really delivered from the murderous malice of his countrymen, and arrived at Rome in safety, where he was refreshed by the company of the Roman Christians; still it is true that his tumultuous apprehension, long imprisonment, his shipwreck, and arrival as a prisoner at Rome, were very unlike the fulfilment of those prayers which he here desires them to offer. Those prayers were not really frustrated, but they were fulfilled in a manner very different from the hopes both of the apostle and of the Roman Christians.—Ed.

justification, in which new medium the Jewish peculiarity was merged and lost; that Abraham's own justification was anterior to the law, and independent of it; that the Jewish converts were to consider the law as now dead, and themselves as married to another; that what the law in truth could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God had done by sending his Son; that God had rejected the unbelieving Jews, and had substituted in their place a society of believers in Christ, collected indifferently from Jews and Gentiles. Soon after the writing of this epistle, St. Paul, agreeably to the intention intimated in the epistle itself, took his journey to Jerusalem. The day after he arrived there, he was introduced to the church. What passed at this interview is thus related, Acts xxi. 19—21: "When he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry: and, when they heard it, they glorified the Lord; and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they *are informed of thee*, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." St. Paul disclaimed the charge; but there must have been something to have led to it. Now it is only to suppose that St. Paul openly professed the principles which the epistle contains; that, in the course of his ministry, he had uttered the sentiments which he is here made to write; and the matter is accounted for. Concerning the accusation which public rumour had brought against him to Jerusalem, I will not say that it was just; but I will say, that if he was the author of the epistle before us, and if his preaching was consistent with his writing, it was extremely natural: for though it be not a necessary, surely it is an easy inference, that if the Gentile convert, who did not observe the law of Moses, held as advantageous a situation in his religious interests as the Jewish convert who did, there could be no strong reason for observing that law at all. The remonstrance therefore of the church of Jerusalem, and the report which occasioned it, were founded in no very violent misconstruction of the apostle's doctrine. His reception at Jerusalem was exactly what I should have expected the author of this epistle to have met with. I am entitled therefore to argue, that a separate narrative of effects

experienced by St. Paul, similar to what a person might be expected to experience who held the doctrines advanced in this epistle, forms a proof that he did hold these doctrines; and that the epistle bearing his name, in which such doctrines are laid down, actually proceeded from him.

No. VIII.

This number is supplemental to the former. I propose to point out in it two particulars in the conduct of the argument, perfectly adapted to the historical circumstances under which the epistle was written; which yet are free from all appearance of contrivance, and which it would not, I think, have entered into the mind of a sophist to contrive.

1. The Epistle to the Galatians relates to the same general question as the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul had founded the church of Galatia: at Rome he had never been. Observe now a difference in his manner of treating of the same subject, corresponding with this difference in his situation. In the Epistle to the Galatians he puts the point in a great measure upon *authority*: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel," Gal. i. 6. "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." (ch. i. 11, 12.) "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." (iv. 11.) "I desire to be present with you now, . . . for I stand in doubt of you." (iv. 20.) "Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." (v. 2.) "This persuasion cometh not of him that calleth you." (v. 8.) This is the style in which he accosts the Galatians. In the epistle to the converts of Rome, where his authority was not established, nor his person known, he puts the same points entirely upon *argument*. The perusal of the epistle will prove this to the satisfaction of every reader; and, as the observation relates to the whole contents of the epistle, I forbear adducing separate extracts. I repeat, therefore, that we have pointed out a distinction in the two epistles, suited to the relation in which the author stood to his different correspondents.

Another adaptation, and somewhat of the same kind, is the following:

2. The Jews, we know, were very numerous at Rome, and

probably formed a principal part amongst the new converts; so much so, that the Christians seem to have been known at Rome rather as a denomination of Jews than as any thing else. In an epistle consequently to the Roman believers, the point to be endeavoured after by St. Paul, was to reconcile the *Jewish* converts to the opinion, that the Gentiles were admitted by God to a parity of religious situation with themselves, and that without their being bound by the law of Moses. The Gentile converts would probably accede to this opinion very readily. In this epistle, therefore, though directed to the Roman church in general, it is in truth a Jew writing to Jews. Accordingly you will take notice, that as often as his argument leads him to say any thing derogatory from the Jewish institution, he constantly follows it by a softening clause. Having (ii. 28, 29) pronounced, not much perhaps to the satisfaction of the native Jews, that "he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh;" he adds immediately, "What advantage then hath the Jew, or what profit is there of circumcision?—*Much every way.*" Having in the third chapter, ver. 28, brought his argument to this formal conclusion, "that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law," he presently subjoins, ver. 31, "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid! *Yea, we establish the law.*" In the seventh chapter, when in the sixth verse he had advanced the bold assertion, that "now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held;" in the very next verse he comes in with this healing question, "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid! Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law." Having in the following words insinuated, or rather more than insinuated, the inefficacy of the Jewish law, (viii. 3,) "for what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh;" after a digression indeed, but that sort of a digression which he could never resist, a rapturous contemplation of his Christian hope, and which occupies the latter part of this chapter; we find him in the next, as if sensible that he had said something which would give offence, returning to his Jewish brethren in terms of the warmest affection and respect: "I say the truth in Christ Jesus, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow

in my heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, *for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh : who are Israelites ; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises ; whose are the fathers ; and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came.*" When, in the thirty-first and thirty-second verses of this ninth chapter, he represented to the Jews the error of even the best of their nation, by telling them that "Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, had not attained to the law of righteousness, . . . because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law. For they stumbled at that stumbling stone," he takes care to annex to this declaration these conciliating expressions : "Brethren, *my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel* is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record that they *have a zeal of God*, but not according to knowledge." Lastly, having, ch. x. 20, 21, by the application of a passage in Isaiah, insinuated the most ungrateful of all propositions to a Jewish ear, the rejection of the Jewish nation as God's peculiar people ; he hastens, as it were, to qualify the intelligence of their fall by this interesting expostulation : "I say, then, hath God cast away his people, (that is, wholly and entirely) ? *God forbid !* for I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew ;*" and follows this thought, throughout the whole of the eleventh chapter, in a series of reflections calculated to soothe the Jewish converts, as well as to procure from their Gentile brethren respect to the Jewish institution. Now all this is perfectly natural. In a real St. Paul writing to real converts, it is what anxiety to bring them over to his persuasion would naturally produce ; but there is an earnestness and a personality, if I may so call it, in the manner, which a cold forgery, I apprehend, would neither have conceived nor supported.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

No. I.

BEFORE we proceed to compare this epistle with the history, or with any other epistle, we will employ one number in stating

certain remarks applicable to our argument, which arise from a perusal of the epistle itself.

By an expression in the first verse of the seventh chapter, "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me," it appears, that this letter to the Corinthians was written by St. Paul in answer to one which he had received from them; and that the seventh, and some of the following chapters, are taken up in resolving certain doubts, and regulating certain points of order, concerning which the Corinthians had in their letter consulted him. This alone is a circumstance considerably in favour of the authenticity of the epistle; for it must have been a far-fetched contrivance in a forgery, first to have feigned the receipt of a letter from the church of Corinth, which letter does not appear; and then to have drawn up a fictitious answer to it, relative to a great variety of doubts and inquiries, purely economical and domestic; and which, though likely enough to have occurred to an infant society, in a situation, and under an institution so novel as that of a Christian church then was, it must have very much exercised the author's invention, and could have answered no imaginable purpose of forgery, to introduce the mention of at all. Particulars of the kind we refer to are such as the following: the rule of duty and prudence relative to entering into marriage, as applicable to virgins, to widows; the case of husbands married to unconverted wives, of wives having unconverted husbands; that case where the unconverted party chooses to separate, where he chooses to continue the union; the effect which their conversion produced upon their prior state, of circumcision, of slavery; the eating of things offered to idols, as it was in itself, as others were affected by it; the joining in idolatrous sacrifices; the decorum to be observed in their religious assemblies, the order of speaking, the silence of women; the covering or uncovering of the head, as it became men, as it became women. These subjects, with their several subdivisions, are so particular, minute, and numerous, that though they be exactly agreeable to the circumstances of the persons to whom the letter was written, nothing, I believe, but the existence and reality of those circumstances could have suggested to the writer's thoughts.

But this is not the only nor the principal observation upon the correspondence between the church of Corinth, and their apostle, which I wish to point out. It appears, I think, in this correspondence, that although the Corinthians had written

to St. Paul, requesting his answer and his directions in the several points above enumerated, yet that they had not said one syllable about the enormities and disorders which had crept in amongst them, and in the blame of which they all shared; but that St. Paul's information concerning the irregularities then prevailing at Corinth had come round to him from other quarters. The quarrels and disputes excited by their contentious adherence to their different teachers, and by their placing of them in competition with one another, were not mentioned in their *letter*, but communicated to St. Paul by more private intelligence: "It hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, *by them which are of the house of Chloe*, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas; and I of Christ." (i. 11, 12.) The incestuous marriage "of a man with his father's wife," which St. Paul reprehends with so much severity in the fifth chapter of our epistle, and which was not the crime of an individual only, but a crime in which the whole church, by tolerating and conniving at it, had rendered themselves partakers, did not come to St. Paul's knowledge by the *letter*, but by a rumour which had reached his ears: "*It is reported commonly* that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you." (v. 1, 2.) Their going to law before the judicature of the country, rather than arbitrate and adjust their disputes among themselves, which St. Paul animadverts upon with his usual plainness, was not intimated to him in the *letter*, because he tells them his opinion of this conduct before he comes to the contents of the letter. Their litigiousness is censured by St. Paul in the sixth chapter of his epistle, and it is only at the beginning of the seventh chapter that he proceeds upon the articles which he found in their letter; and he proceeds upon them with this preface: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me," (vii. 1,) which introduction he would not have used if he had been already discussing any of the subjects concerning which they had written. Their irregularities in celebrating the Lord's Supper, and the utter perversion of the institution which ensued, were not in the letter, as is evident from the terms in which St. Paul men-

tions the notice he had received of it: "Now in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse. For first of all, when ye come together in the church, *I hear* that there be divisions among you; and *I partly believe it.*" Now that the Corinthians should, in their own letter, exhibit the fair side of their conduct to the apostle, and conceal from him the faults of their behaviour, was extremely natural, and extremely probable: but it was a distinction which would not, I think, have easily occurred to the author of a forgery; and much less likely is it, that it should have entered into his thoughts to make the distinction *appear* in the way in which it does appear, namely, not by the original letter, not by any express observation upon it in the answer, but distantly by marks perceivable in the manner, or in the order, in which St. Paul takes notice of their faults.

No. II.

Our epistle purports to have been written after St. Paul had already been at Corinth: "I, brethren, *when I came to you*, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom," (ii. 1): and in many other places to the same effect. It purports also to have been written upon the eve of another visit to that church: "I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will," (iv. 19,) and again, "I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia," (xvi. 5.) Now the history relates that St. Paul did in fact visit Corinth *twice*; once as recorded at length in the eighteenth, and a second time as mentioned briefly in the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The same history also informs us, (Acts xx. 1,) that it was from Ephesus St. Paul proceeded upon his second journey into Greece. Therefore, as the epistle purports to have been written a short time preceding that journey; and as St. Paul, the history tells us, had resided more than two years at Ephesus, before he set out upon it, it follows that it must have been from Ephesus, to be consistent with the history, that the epistle was written; and every note of *place* in the epistle agrees with this supposition. "If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?" (xv. 32.) I allow that the apostle might say this, wherever he was: but it was more natural and more to the purpose to say it, if he was at Ephesus at the time, and in the midst of those conflicts to which the expression relates.

"The churches of Asia salute you." (xvi. 19.) Asia, throughout the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, does not mean the whole of Asia Minor or Anatolia, nor even the whole of the proconsular Asia, but a district in the anterior part of that country, called Lydian Asia, divided from the rest, much as Portugal is from Spain, and of which district *Ephesus* was the capital. "Aquila and Priscilla salute you." (xvi. 19.) Aquila and Priscilla were at *Ephesus* during the period within which this epistle was written, Acts xviii. 18, 26. "I will tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost." (xvi. 8.) This, I apprehend, is in terms almost asserting that he was at *Ephesus* at the time of writing the epistle. "A great and effectual door is opened unto me." (xvi. 9.) How well this declaration corresponded with the state of things at *Ephesus*, and the progress of the gospel in these parts, we learn from the reflection with which the historian concludes the account of certain transactions which passed there: "So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed," Acts xix. 20; as well as from the complaint of Demetrius, "that not alone at *Ephesus*, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people." (xix. 26.) "And there are many adversaries," says the epistle. (xvi. 9.) Look into the history of this period: "When divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples." The conformity, therefore, upon this head of comparison is circumstantial and perfect. If any one think that this is a conformity so obvious, that any forger of tolerable caution and sagacity would have taken care to preserve it, I must desire such a one to read the epistle for himself; and, when he has done so, to declare whether he has discovered one mark of art or design; whether the notes of *time* and *place* appear to him to be inserted with any reference to each other, with any view of their being compared with each other, or for the purpose of establishing a visible agreement with the history, in respect of them.

No. III.*

Chap. iv. 17-19. "For this cause I have sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in every church. Now some

are puffed up, as though I would not come to you. But I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will."

With this I compare Acts xix. 21, 22: "After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and *Achaia*, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, *Timotheus* and *Erastus*,"

Though it be not said, it appears I think with sufficient certainty, I mean from the history, independently of the epistle, that Timothy was sent upon this occasion into *Achaia*, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as into Macedonia: for the sending of Timothy and *Erastus* is, in the passage where it is mentioned, plainly connected with St. Paul's own journey: *he sent them before him*. As he therefore purposed to go into *Achaia* himself, it is highly probable that they were to go thither also. Nevertheless, they are said only to have been sent into Macedonia, because Macedonia was in truth the country to which they went immediately from Ephesus; being directed, as we suppose, to proceed afterwards from thence into *Achaia*. If this be so, the narrative agrees with the epistle; and the agreement is attended with very little appearance of design. One thing at least concerning it is certain: that if this passage of St. Paul's history had been taken from his letter, it would have sent Timothy to Corinth by name, or expressly however into *Achaia*.

But there is another circumstance in these two passages much less obvious, in which an agreement holds without any room for suspicion that it was produced by design. We have observed that the sending of Timothy into the peninsula of Greece was connected in the narrative with St. Paul's own journey thither; it is stated as the effect of the same resolution. Paul purposed to go into Macedonia; "so he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, *Timotheus* and *Erastus*." Now in the epistle also you remark that, when the apostle mentions his having sent Timothy unto them, in the very next sentence he speaks of his own visit: "for this cause have I sent unto you *Timotheus*, who is my beloved son," etc. "Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you. But I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will." Timothy's journey, we see, is mentioned in the history and in the epistle, in close connexion with St. Paul's own. Here is

the same order of thought and intention ; yet conveyed under such diversity of circumstance and expression, and the mention of them in the epistle so allied to the occasion which introduces it, namely, the insinuation of his adversaries that he would come to Corinth no more, that I am persuaded no attentive reader will believe that these passages were written in concert with one another, or will doubt but that the agreement is unsought and uncontrived.

But, in the Acts, Erastus accompanied Timothy in this journey, of whom no mention is made in the epistle. From what has been said in our observations upon the Epistle to the Romans, it appears probable that Erastus was a Corinthian. If so, though he accompanied Timothy to Corinth, he was only returning home, and Timothy was the messenger charged with St. Paul's orders. At any rate, this discrepancy shows that the passages were not taken from one another.

No. IV.*

Chap. xvi. 10, 11.—“ Now, if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear : for he worketh the work of the Lord as I also do. Let no man therefore despise him : but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me : for I look for him with the brethren.”

From the passage considered in the preceding number, it appears that Timothy was sent to Corinth, either with the epistle, or before it : “ for this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus.” From the passage now quoted, we infer that Timothy was not sent *with* the epistle ; for had he been the bearer of the letter, or accompanied it, would St. Paul in that letter have said, “ *If* Timothy come ? ” Nor is the sequel consistent with the supposition of his carrying the letter ; for if Timothy were with the apostle when he wrote the letter, could he say, as he does, “ I look for him with the brethren ? ” I conclude, therefore, that Timothy had left St. Paul to proceed upon his journey before the letter was written. Further, the passage before us seems to imply that Timothy was not expected by St. Paul to arrive at Corinth till after they had received the letter. He gives them directions in the letter how to treat him when he should arrive : “ If he come,” act towards him so and so. Lastly, the whole form of expression is most naturally applicable to the supposition of Timothy's coming to Corinth, not directly from St. Paul, but from some

other quarter; and that his instructions had been, when he should reach Corinth, to return. Now, how stands this matter in the history? Turn to the nineteenth chapter and twenty-first verse of the Acts, and you will find that Timothy did not, when sent from Ephesus, where he left St. Paul, and where the present epistle was written, proceed by a straight course to Corinth, but that he went round through Macedonia. This clears up everything; for, although Timothy was sent forth upon his journey before the letter was written, yet he might not reach Corinth till after the letter arrived there; and he would come to Corinth, when he did come, not directly from St. Paul at Ephesus, but from some part of Macedonia. Here, therefore, is a circumstantial and critical agreement, and unquestionably without design; for neither of the two passages in the epistle mentions Timothy's journey into Macedonia at all, though nothing but a circuit of that kind can explain and reconcile the expressions which the writer uses. (e)

No. V.*

Chap. i. 12.—“Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ.”

Also, iii. 6.—“I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase.”

This expression, “I have planted, Apollos watered,” imports two things: first, that Paul had been at Corinth before Apollos; secondly, that Apollos had been at Corinth after Paul, but before the writing of this epistle. This implied account of the several events, and of the order in which they took place, corresponds exactly with the history. St. Paul, after his first visit into Greece, returned from Corinth into Syria by the way of Ephesus; and, dropping his companions Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, he proceeded forwards to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem he descended to Antioch; and from thence made a progress through some of the upper or northern provinces of the Lesser Asia, Acts xviii. 19, 23; during which progress, and consequently in the interval between St. Paul's first and second visit to Corinth, and con-

(e) For some further observations on the subject of these two articles see *Horn's Apost.* cap. iv. No. 11. and cap. ix. No. 1., where the hypothesis of Hug and others on this journey is examined and disproved, and the view of Paley is confirmed, with a slight modification.—Ed

sequently also before the writing of this epistle, which was at Ephesus, two years at least after the apostle's return from his progress, we hear of Apollos, and we hear of him at Corinth. Whilst St. Paul was engaged, as hath been said, in Phrygia and Galatia, Apollos came down to Ephesus; and being, in St. Paul's absence, instructed by Aquila and Priscilla, and having obtained letters of recommendation from the church at Ephesus, he passed over to Achaia; and when he was there, we read that he "helped them much which had believed through grace: for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly," Acts xviii. 27, 28. To have brought Apollos into Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as the principal Christian church, and to have shown that he preached the gospel in that country, would have been sufficient for our purpose. But the history happens also to mention Corinth by name, as the place in which Apollos, after his arrival in Achaia, fixed his residence: for, proceeding with the account of St. Paul's travels, it tells us, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came down to Ephesus. (xix. 1.) What is said, therefore, of Apollos in the epistle, coincides exactly, and especially in the point of chronology, with what is delivered concerning him in the history. The only question now is, whether the allusions were made with a regard to this coincidence. Now the occasions and purposes for which the name of Apollos is introduced in the Acts and in the epistles are so independent and so remote, that it is impossible to discover the smallest reference from one to the other. Apollos is mentioned in the Acts, in immediate connexion with the history of Aquila and Priscilla, and for the very singular circumstance of his "knowing only the baptism of John." In the epistle, where none of these circumstances are taken notice of, his name first occurs, for the purpose of reproving the contentious spirit of the Corinthians; and it occurs only in conjunction with that of some others: "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." The second passage in which Apollos appears, "I have planted, Apollos watered," fixes, as we have observed, the order of time amongst three distinct events; but it fixes this, I will venture to pronounce, without the writer perceiving that he was doing any such thing. The sentence fixes this order in exact conformity with the history; but it is itself introduced solely for

the sake of the reflection which follows:—"Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." (f)

No. VI.

Chap. iv. 11, 12.—"Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands."

We are expressly told in the history, that at Corinth St. Paul laboured with his own hands: "He found Aquila and Priscilla; and, because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought; for by their occupation they were tent-makers." But, in the text before us, he is made to say, that he laboured "*even unto this present hour*," that is, to the time of writing the epistle at Ephesus. Now in the narration of St. Paul's transactions at Ephesus, delivered in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, nothing is said of his working with his own hands; but in the twentieth chapter we read that, upon his return from Greece, he sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus; and in the discourse which he there addressed to them, amidst some other reflections which he calls to their remembrance, we find the following: "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me." The reader will not forget to remark, that though St. Paul be now at Miletus, it is to the elders of the church of Ephesus he is speaking, when he says, "Ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities;" and that the whole discourse relates to his conduct during his last preceding residence at Ephesus. That manual labour, therefore, which he had exercised at Corinth, he continued at Ephesus; and not only so, but continued it during that particular residence at Ephesus, near the conclusion of which this epistle was written; so that he might with the strictest truth

(f) Professor Hug, who dates the Epistle to Titus during St. Paul's first brief stay at Ephesus, contends that Apollos reached that city before St. Paul left it. Such a view, however, is a plain contradiction of the history, which places his arrival during the circuit of St. Paul in Upper Asia, and tells us that Aquila and Priscilla were his instructors, clearly in St. Paul's absence. The grammatical force of Acts xix. 1, is just the opposite of what he affirms it to be, and distinctly places only the arrival of St. Paul at Ephesus, and not his whole previous circuit in Asia, after the voyage of Apollos to Corinth. Hence the argument of Paley is perfectly just and accurate. See *Hæc Apost: cap. III. No. III.* for some further remarks on the same text.—ED.

say, at the time of writing the epistle, "*Even unto this present hour* we labour, working with our own hands." The correspondency is sufficient. Then, as to the undesignedness of it: It is manifest, to my judgment, that if the history, in this article, had been taken from the epistle, this circumstance, if it appeared at all, would have appeared in its *place*, that is, in the direct account of St. Paul's transactions at Ephesus. The correspondency would not have been effected, as it is, by a kind of reflected stroke, that is, by a reference in a subsequent speech to what in the narrative was omitted. Nor is it likely, on the other hand, that a circumstance which is not extant in the history of St. Paul at Ephesus should have been made the subject of a factitious allusion, in an epistle purporting to be written by him from that place; not to mention that the allusion itself, especially as to time, is too oblique and general to answer any purpose of forgery whatever.

No. VII.

Chap. ix. 20.—"And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law."

We have the disposition here described exemplified in two instances which the history records; one, Acts xvi. 3: "Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him; and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews which were in those quarters*; for they knew all that his father was a Greek." This was before the writing of the epistle. The other, Acts xxi. 23, 26, and after the writing of the epistle: "Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men which have a vow on them: them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads; and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law.—Then Paul took the men, and the next day *purifying himself with them entered into the temple*." Nor does this concurrence between the character and the instances look like the result of contrivance. St. Paul in the epistle describes, or is made to describe, his own accommodating conduct towards Jews and towards Gentiles, towards the weak and over-scrupulous, towards men, indeed, of every variety of character; "to them that are without law as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain

them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." This is the sequel of the text which stands at the head of the present number. Taking, therefore, the whole passage together, the apostle's condescension to the Jews is mentioned only as a part of his general disposition towards all. It is not probable that this character should have been made up from the instances in the Acts, which relate solely to his dealings with the Jews. It is not probable that a sophist should take his hint from those instances, and then extend it so much beyond them: and it is still more incredible that the two instances in the Acts, circumstantially related and interwoven with the history, should have been fabricated in order to suit the character which St. Paul gives of himself in the epistle.

No. VIII.

Chap. i. 14-17.—"I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I baptized in mine own name. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas; besides, I know not whether I baptized any other. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel."

It may be expected that those whom the apostle baptized with his own hands were converts distinguished from the rest by some circumstance, either of eminence or of connexion with him. Accordingly, of the three names here mentioned, Crispus, we find, from Acts xviii. 8, was a "chief ruler" of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth, who "believed on the Lord with all his house." Gaius, it appears from Rom. xvi. 26, was St. Paul's host at Corinth, and the host, he tells us, "of the whole church." The household of Stephanas, we read in the sixteenth chapter of this epistle, "were the first fruits of Achaia." Here, therefore, is the propriety we expected; and it is a proof of reality not to be contemned; for their names appearing in the several places in which they occur, with a mark of distinction belonging to each, could hardly be the effect of chance, without any truth to direct it: and, on the other hand, to suppose that they were picked out from these passages, and brought together in the text before us, in order to display a conformity of names, is both improbable in itself, and is rendered more so by the purpose for which they are introduced. They come in to assist St. Paul's exculpation of himself, against the possible charge of having

assumed the character of the founder of a separate religion, and with no other visible, or, as I think, imaginable design.*

No. IX.

Chap. xvi. 11.—“Now, if Timotheus come, let no man despise him.”—Why *despise* him? This charge is not given concerning any other messenger whom St. Paul sent; and, in the different epistles, many such messengers are mentioned. Turn to 1 Timothy, chap. iv. 12, and you will find that Timothy was a *young man*, younger probably than those who were usually employed in the Christian mission; and that St. Paul, apprehending lest he should, on that account, be exposed to contempt, urges upon him the caution which is there inserted, “Let no man despise thy youth.”

No. X.*

Chap. xvi. 1.—“Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye.”

* Chap. i. 1. “Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, and Sosthenes our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth.” The only account we have of any person who bore the name of Sosthenes is found in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts. When the Jews at Corinth had brought Paul before Gallio, and Gallio had dismissed their complaint as unworthy of his interference, and had driven them from the judgment-seat, “then all the Greeks,” says the historian, “took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat.” The Sosthenes here spoken of was a Corinthian; and, if he was a Christian, and with St. Paul when he wrote this epistle, was likely enough to be joined with him in the salutation of the Corinthian church. But here occurs a difficulty. If Sosthenes was a Christian at the time of this uproar, why should the *Greeks* beat him? The assault upon the Christians was made by the *Jews*. It was the *Jews* who had brought Paul before the magistrate. If it had been the *Jews* also who had beaten Sosthenes, I should not have doubted but that he had been a favourer of St. Paul, and the same person who is joined with him in the epistle. Let us see therefore whether there be not some error in our present text. The Alexandrian manuscript gives πάντες alone, without οἱ Ἕλληνες, and it is followed in this reading by the Coptic version, by the Arabian version, published by Erpenius, by the Vulgate, and by Bede’s Latin version. The Greek manuscripts again, as well as Chrysostom, give οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, in the place of οἱ Ἕλληνες. A great plurality of manuscripts authorize the reading which is retained in our copies. In this variety it appears to me extremely probable that the historian originally wrote πάντες alone, and that οἱ Ἕλληνες and οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι have been respectively added as explanatory of what the word πάντες was supposed to mean. The sentence, without the addition of either name, would run very perspicuously thus, “καὶ ἀπῆλθεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες Σωσθένην τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον, ἐτυκτον ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος, and he drove them away from the judgment-seat; and they all,” namely, the crowd of Jews whom the judge had bid begone, “took Sosthenes, and beat him before the judgment seat.” It is certain that, as the whole body of the people were Greeks, the application of *all* to them was unusual and hard. If I were describing an insurrection at Paris, I might say *all* the *Jews*, *all* the Protestants, or *all* the English, acted so-and-so; but I should scarcely say *all* the French, when the whole mass of the community were of that description. As what is here offered is founded upon a various reading, and that in opposition to the greater part of the manuscripts that are extant, I have not given it a place in the text. (g)

(g) See Horæ Apost: cap. III. No. 1. for a different view of the above passage, where Sosthenes is named, and one which turns it into a striking addition to the general argument —kp.

The churches of Galatia and Phrygia were the last churches which St. Paul had visited before the writing of this epistle. He was now at Ephesus, and he came thither immediately from visiting these churches: "He went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.—And it came to pass that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts," (namely, the above-named countries, called the upper coasts, as being the northern part of Asia Minor,) "came to Ephesus," Acts xviii. 23; xix. 1. These, therefore, probably were the last churches at which he left directions for their public conduct during his absence. Although two years intervened between his journey to Ephesus and his writing this epistle, yet it does not appear that during that time he visited any other church. That he had not been silent, when he was in Galatia, upon this subject of contribution for the poor, is further made out from a hint which he lets fall in his epistle to that church: "Only they (namely, the other apostles) would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do." (h)

No. XI.

Chap. iv. 18.—"Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you."

Why should they suppose that he would not come? Turn to the first chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, and you will find that he had already *disappointed* them: "I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judæa. When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness? Or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea yea, and nay nay? But, as God is true, our word toward you was not yea and nay." It appears from this quotation that he had not only intended, but that he had promised them a visit before; for, otherwise, why should he apologize for the change of his purpose, or express so much anxiety lest this change should be imputed to any culpable fickleness in his temper; and lest he should thereby seem to them as one whose word was not, in any sort, to be depended

(h) See Horns Apost. cap. iii. No. viii., for some further remarks on this text. upper parts, it may be observed, denote the *eastern*, and not, as Paley has twice intimated, the northern parts of Asia.—Ed.

upon? Besides which, the terms made use of plainly refer to a promise, "Our word toward you was not yea and nay." St. Paul, therefore, had signified an intention which he had not been able to execute; and this seeming breach of his word, and the delay of his visit, had, with some who were evil affected towards him, given birth to a suggestion that he would come no more to Corinth.

No. XII.*

Chap. v. 7, 8.—"For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

Dr. Benson tells us, that from this passage, compared with chapter xvi. 8, it has been conjectured that this epistle was written about the time of the Jewish passover; and to me the conjecture appears to be very well founded. The passage to which Dr. Benson refers us is this: "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." With this passage he ought to have joined another in the same context: "and it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you;" for from the two passages laid together, it follows that the epistle was written before Pentecost, yet after winter, which necessarily determines the date to the part of the year within which the passover falls. It was written before Pentecost, because he says, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." It was written after winter, because he tells them, "It may be that I may abide, yea, and winter with you." The winter which the apostle purposed to pass at Corinth was undoubtedly the winter next ensuing to the date of the epistle; yet it was a winter subsequent to the ensuing Pentecost, because he did not intend to set forwards upon his journey till after that feast. The words, "let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth," look very like words suggested by the season; at least they have, upon that supposition, a force and significancy which do not belong to them upon any other; and it is not a little remarkable, that the hints casually dropped in the epistle, concerning particular parts of the year, should coincide with this supposition. (i)

(i) See *Horæ Apost.* cap. III. No. VI. Mr. Greswell infers, from the passage here discussed, that the letter was written before the passover had arrived. It may be shown, I think, by arguments which I have there used, that it was written *after* the passover, and only a few weeks before Pentecost. For another coincidence, derived from 1 Cor. xvi. 6, see No. IX. in the same chapter.—ED.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

No. I.

I WILL not say that it is impossible, having seen the first Epistle to the Corinthians, to construct a second with ostensible allusions to the first; or that it is impossible that both should be fabricated, so as to carry on an order and continuation of story, by successive references to the same events. But I say that this, in either case, must be the effect of craft and design. Whereas, whoever examines the allusions to the former epistle which he finds in this, whilst he will acknowledge them to be such as would rise spontaneously to the hand of the writer, from the very subject of the correspondence, and the situation of the corresponding parties, supposing these to be real, will see no particle of reason to suspect, either that the clauses containing these allusions were *insertions* for the purpose, or that the several transactions of the Corinthian church were feigned, in order to form a train of narrative, or to support the appearance of connexion between the two epistles.

1. In the first epistle, St. Paul announces his intention of passing through Macedonia, in his way to Corinth: "I will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia." In the second epistle, we find him arrived in Macedonia, and about to pursue his journey to Corinth. But observe the manner in which this is made to appear: "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many. Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready; lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) be ashamed in this same confident boasting." (Chap. ix. 2-4.) St. Paul's being in Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle is, in this passage, inferred only from his saying that he had boasted to the Macedonians of the alacrity of his Achaian converts; and the fear which he expresses lest, if any of the Macedonian Christians should come with him unto Achaia, they should find his boasting unwarranted by the event. The business of the contribution is the sole cause of

mentioning Macedonia at all. Will it be insinuated that this passage was framed merely to state that St. Paul was now in Macedonia; and, by that statement, to produce an apparent agreement with the purpose of visiting Macedonia, notified in the first epistle? Or will it be thought probable that, if a sophist had meant to place St. Paul in Macedonia, for the sake of giving countenance to his forgery, he would have done it in so oblique a manner as through the medium of a contribution? The same thing may be observed of another text in the epistle, in which the name of Macedonia occurs: "Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach the gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." I mean, that it may be observed of this passage also, that there is a reason for mentioning Macedonia, entirely distinct from the purpose of showing St. Paul to be *there*. Indeed, if the passage before us show that point at all, it shows it so obscurely that Grotius, though he did not doubt that Paul was now in Macedonia, refers this text to a different journey. Is this the hand of a forger, meditating to establish a false conformity? The text, however, in which it is most strongly implied that St. Paul wrote the present epistle from Macedonia, is found in the fourth, fifth, and sixth verses of the seventh chapter: "I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation. For, when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." Yet even here, I think, no one will contend that St. Paul's coming to Macedonia, or being in Macedonia, was the principal thing intended to be told: or that the telling of it, indeed, was any part of the intention with which the text was written; or that the mention even of the name of Macedonia was not purely incidental, in the description of those tumultuous sorrows with which the writer's mind had been lately agitated, and from which he was relieved by the coming of Titus. The first five verses of the eighth chapter, which commend the liberality of the Macedonian churches, do not, in my opinion, by themselves, prove St. Paul to have been at Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle.

2. In the first epistle, St. Paul denounces a severe cen-

sure against an incestuous marriage, which had taken place amongst the Corinthian converts, with the connivance, not to say with the approbation, of the church; and enjoins the church to purge itself of this scandal, by expelling the offender from its society: "It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." (Chap. v. 1-5.) In the second epistle, we find this sentence executed, and the offender to be so affected with the punishment, that St. Paul now intercedes for his restoration: "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many. So that, contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such an one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him," 2 Cor. ii. 6-8. Is this whole business feigned, for the sake of carrying on a continuation of story through the two epistles? The church also, no less than the offender, was brought by St. Paul's reproof to a deep sense of the impropriety of their conduct. Their penitence, and their respect to his authority, were, as might be expected, exceeding grateful to St. Paul: "We were comforted not by Titus's coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me; so that I rejoiced the more. For, though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent: for I perceive that the same epistle hath made you sorry, though it were but for a season. Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance: for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing." (Chap. vii. 7-9.) That this passage is to be referred to the incestuous marriage is proved by the twelfth verse of the same chapter: "though I wrote unto you, I did

it not for his cause that had done the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong, but that our care for you, in the sight of God, might appear unto you." There were, it is true, various topics of blame noticed in the first epistle; but there were none, except this of the incestuous marriage, which could be called a transaction between private parties, or of which it could be said that one particular person had "done the wrong," and another particular person "had suffered it." Could all this be without foundation? or could it be put in the Second Epistle merely to furnish an obscure sequel to what had been said about an incestuous marriage in the first?

3. In the sixteenth chapter of the first epistle, a collection for the saints is recommended to be set forwards at Corinth: "Now concerning the collection for the saints as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye." (Chap. xvi. 1.) In the ninth chapter of the second epistle, such a collection is spoken of, as in readiness to be received:—"As touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you: for I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many." (Chap. ix. 1, 2.) This is such a continuation of the transaction as might be expected; or possibly it will be said, as might easily be counterfeited: but there is a circumstance of nicety in the agreement between the two epistles, which, I am convinced, the author of a forgery would not have hit upon, or which, if he had hit upon it, he would have set forth with more clearness. The second epistle speaks of the Corinthians as having begun this eleemosynary business a year before: "This is expedient for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago." (Chap. viii. 10.) "I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago." (Chap. ix. 2.) From these texts it is evident, that something had been done in the business a year before. It appears, however, from other texts in the epistle, that the contribution was not yet collected or paid; for brethren were sent from St. Paul to Corinth, "to make up their bounty." (Chap. ix. 5.) They are urged to "perform the doing of it." (Chap. viii. 11.) And every man was exhorted to give as he purposed in his heart. (Chap. ix. 7.) The contribution, therefore, as represented in our present epistle, was in readiness, yet not received from the contributors; was begun,

was forward long before, yet not hitherto collected. Now this representation agrees with one, and only with one, supposition, namely, that every man had laid by in store, had already provided the fund, from which he was afterwards to contribute—the very case which the first epistle authorizes us to suppose to have existed; for in that epistle St. Paul had charged the Corinthians, “Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by in store as God hath prospered him,”* (1 Cor. xvi. 2.)

No. II.*

In comparing the second epistle to the Corinthians with the Acts of the Apostles, we are soon brought to observe, not only that there exists no vestige either of the epistle having been taken from the history, or the history from the epistle; but also that there appears in the contents of the epistle, posi-

* The following observations will satisfy us concerning the purity of our apostle's conduct in the suspicious business of a pecuniary contribution:—

1. He disclaims the having received any inspired authority for the directions which he is giving: “I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.” (2 Cor. viii. 3.) Who, that had a sinister purpose to answer by the recommending of subscriptions, would thus distinguish, and thus lower the credit of his own recommendation? (h)

2. Although he asserts the general right of Christian ministers to a maintenance from their ministry, yet he protests against the making use of this right in his own person: “Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel. But I have used none of these things: neither have I written these things that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying,” that is, my professions of disinterestedness, “void.” (1 Cor. ix. 14, 15.)

3. He repeatedly proposes that there should be associates with himself in the management of the public bounty; not colleagues of his own appointment, but persons elected for that purpose by the contributors themselves: “And when I come, whosoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me.” (1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4.) And in the second epistle, what is here proposed we find actually done, and done for the very purpose of guarding his character against any imputation that might be brought upon it, in the discharge of a pecuniary trust: “And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches; and not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace, (gift,) which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and declaration of your ready mind: avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us: providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men;” that is, not resting in the consciousness of our own integrity, but, in such a subject, careful also to approve our integrity to the public judgment. (2 Cor. viii. 18-21.)

(h) This remark seems to rest on an evident misinterpretation. The meaning of St. Paul is not to disclaim a Divine warrant for the advice he offers, but to state emphatically that it is advice, and not a command, and that he would have the offering to be free and spontaneous. The delicacy of thought and feeling in the passage is greatly obscured, if we lose sight of the true meaning of the expression. Some duties are plain and absolute, and these he enforces with apostolic authority; others are indirect, and have no value, unless as the free utterance of Christian love. In this case the apostle, under the teaching of the same Spirit, disclaims the exercise of authority, and simply pleads with them as a Christian brother.—Ed.

tive evidences that neither was borrowed from the other. Titus, who bears a conspicuous part in the epistle, is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles at all. St. Paul's sufferings enumerated, chap. xi. 24, "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one, thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I been in the deep," cannot be made out from his history as delivered in the Acts; nor would this account have been given by a writer, who either drew his knowledge of St. Paul from that history, or who was careful to preserve a conformity with it. The account in the epistle of St. Paul's escape from Damascus, though agreeing in the main fact with the account of the same transaction in the Acts, is related with such difference of circumstance, as renders it utterly improbable that one should be derived from the other. The two accounts, placed by the side of each other, stand as follows:—

2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me: and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

Acts ix. 23-25. And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him: but their laying in wait was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.

Now if we be satisfied in general concerning these two ancient writings, that the one was not known to the writer of the other, or not consulted by him; then the accordances which may be pointed out between them will admit of no solution so probable, as the attributing of them to truth and reality, as to their common foundation. (l)

No. III.

The opening of this epistle exhibits a connexion with the history, which alone would satisfy my mind that the epistle was written by St. Paul, and by St. Paul in the situation in which the history places him. Let it be remembered that in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, St. Paul is represented as driven away from Ephesus, or as leaving however Ephesus, in consequence of an uproar in that city, excited by some interested adversaries of the new religion. The account of the tumult is as follows: "When they heard these sayings," namely, Demetrius's complaint of the danger to be apprehended

(l) See *Horræ Apost.* cap. iv. No. iv., for some further remarks on the congruity of these two passages.—Ed.

from St. Paul's ministry to the established worship of the Ephesian goddess, "they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. And the whole city was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aris tarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. Some therefore cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with his hand, and would have made his defence unto the people. But when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.—And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." When he was arrived in Macedonia, he wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians, which is now before us; and he begins his epistle in this wise: "Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble by the comfort, wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God. For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ. And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer: or whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and salvation. And our hope of you is stedfast, knowing, that as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye be also of the consolation. For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble *which came to us in Asia*, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life: but we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead: who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver: in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us." Nothing could be more expressive of the circumstances in which the history describes St.

Paul to have been, at the time when the epistle purports to be written ; or rather, nothing could be more expressive of the sensations arising from these circumstances, than this passage. It is the calm recollection of a mind emerged from the confusion of instant danger. It is that devotion and solemnity of thought, which follows a recent deliverance. There is just enough of particularity in the passage to show that it is to be referred to the tumult at Ephesus : " We would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia." And there is nothing more ; no mention of Demetrius, of the seizure of St. Paul's friends, of the interference of the town-clerk, of the occasion or nature of the danger which St. Paul had escaped, or even of the city where it happened ; in a word, no recital from which a suspicion could be conceived, either that the author of the epistle had made use of the narrative in the Acts ; or, on the other hand, that he had sketched the outline, which the narrative in the Acts only filled up. That the forger of an epistle, under the name of St. Paul, should borrow circumstances from a history of St. Paul then extant ; or, that the author of a history of St. Paul should gather materials from letters bearing St. Paul's name, may be credited ; but I cannot believe that any forger whatever should fall upon an expedient so refined as to exhibit sentiments adapted to a situation, and to leave his readers to seek out that situation from the history ; still less that the author of a history should go about to frame facts and circumstances, fitted to supply the sentiments which he found in the letter. It may be said, perhaps, that it does not appear from the history that any danger threatened St. Paul's life in the uproar at Ephesus, so imminent as that from which in the epistle he represents himself to have been delivered. This matter, it is true, is not stated by the historian in form ; but the personal danger of the apostle, we cannot doubt, must have been extreme, when the " whole city was filled with confusion ;" when the populace had " seized his companions ;" when, in the distraction of his mind, he insisted upon " coming forth amongst them ;" when the Christians who were about him would not suffer him ; when " his friends, certain of the chief of Asia, sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre ;" when, lastly, he was obliged to quit immediately the place and the country, " and when the tumult was ceased to depart into Macedonia." All which particulars are found

in the narration, and justify St. Paul's own account, "that he was pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that he despaired even of life; that he had the sentence of death in himself;" that is, that he looked upon himself as a man condemned to die.

No. IV.

It has already been remarked, that St. Paul's original intention was to have visited Corinth on his way to Macedonia; "I was minded to come unto you before. . . . and to pass by you into Macedonia," 2 Cor. i. 15, 16. It has also been remarked that he changed his intention, and ultimately resolved upon going through Macedonia *first*. Now upon this head there exists a circumstance of correspondency between our epistle and the history, which is not very obvious to the reader's observation; but which, when observed, will be found, I think, close and exact. Which circumstance is this: that though the change of St. Paul's intention be expressly mentioned only in the second epistle, yet it appears, both from the history and from this second epistle, that the change had taken place before the writing of the first epistle; that it appears however from neither, otherwise than by an inference, unnoticed perhaps by almost every one who does not sit down professedly to the examination.

First, then, how does this point appear from the history? In the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-first verse, we are told, that "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem. — So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." A short time after this, and evidently in pursuance of the same intention, we find (chap. xx. 1, 2) that "Paul departed from Ephesus for to go into Macedonia: and that, when he had gone over those parts he came into Greece." The resolution therefore of passing first through Macedonia, and from thence into Greece, was formed by St. Paul, previously to the sending away of Timothy. The order in which the two countries are mentioned shows the direction of his intended route, "when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia." Timothy and Erastus, who were to precede him in his progress, were sent by him from Ephesus into Macedonia. He himself a short time afterwards, and, as hath been observed, evidently in continuation and pursuance of the

same design, "departed for to go into Macedonia." If he had ever, therefore, entertained a different plan of his journey, which is not hinted in the history, he must have changed that plan before this time. But, from the seventeenth verse of the fourth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, we discover, that Timothy had been sent away from Ephesus before that epistle was written: "For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son." The change therefore of St. Paul's resolution, which was prior to the sending away of Timothy, was necessarily prior to the writing of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. (m)

Thus stands the order of dates, as collected from the history, compared with the first epistle. Now let us inquire, secondly, how this matter is represented in the epistle before us. In the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of this epistle, St. Paul speaks of the intention which he had once entertained of visiting Achaia in his way to Macedon: "In this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit: and to pass by you into Macedonia." After protesting, in the seventeenth verse, against any evil construction that might be put upon his laying aside of this intention, in the twenty-third verse he discloses the cause of it: "Moreover I call God for a record upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet unto Corinth." And then he proceeds as follows: "But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness. For if I make you sorry, who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me? *And I wrote this same unto you*, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all. For out of much affliction and anguish of heart *I wrote unto you with many tears*; not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you. But if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me: but in part, that I may not overcharge you all. Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, which was inflicted of many." In this quotation, let the reader first direct his attention to the clause marked by Italics, "*and I wrote this same unto you*," and let him consider, whether, from the context,

(m) Mr. Greaswell supposes that the journey of Timothy mentioned in Acts, and the one alluded to in the former epistle, were distinct. It is, however, very clear that they were the same. See *Horræ Apost.* ch. III. No. IV., where the reasons are examined, and the accuracy of Paley's view confirmed.—Ed.

and from the structure of the whole passage, it be not evident that this writing was after St. Paul had "determined with himself that he would not come again to them with heaviness?" whether, indeed, it was not in consequence of this determination, or at least with this determination upon his mind? And, in the next place, let him consider, whether the sentence, "I determined this with myself that I would not come again to you in heaviness," do not plainly refer to that postponing of his visit, to which he had alluded in the verse but one before, when he said, "I call God for a record upon my soul, that to spare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth:" and whether this be not the visit of which he speaks in the sixteenth verse, wherein he informs the Corinthians, "that he had been minded to pass by them into Macedonia," but that, for reasons which argued no levity or fickleness in his disposition, he had been compelled to change his purpose. If this be so, then it follows that the writing here mentioned was posterior to the change of his intention. The only question, therefore, that remains, will be, whether this writing relate to the letter which we now have under the title of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, or to some other letter not extant? And upon this question I think Mr. Locke's observation decisive; namely, that the second clause marked in the quotation by Italics, "I wrote unto you with many tears," and the first clause so marked, "I wrote this same unto you," belong to one writing, whatever that was; and that the second clause goes on to advert to a circumstance which is found in our present first epistle to the Corinthians; namely, the case and punishment of the incestuous person. Upon the whole, then, we see that it is capable of being inferred from St. Paul's own words, in the long extract which we have quoted, that the first epistle to the Corinthians was written after St. Paul had determined to postpone his journey to Corinth; in other words, that the change of his purpose with respect to the course of his journey, though expressly mentioned only in the second epistle, had taken place before the writing of the first; the point which we made out to be implied in the history, by the order of the events there recorded, and the allusions to those events in the first epistle. Now this is a species of congruity of all others the most to be relied upon. It is not an agreement between two accounts of the same transaction, or between different statements of the same fact, for the fact is not stated; nothing

that can be called an account is given; but it is the junction of two conclusions, deduced from independent sources, and deducible only by investigation and comparison.

This point, namely, the change of the route, being prior to the writing of the first epistle, also falls in with, and accounts for, the manner in which he speaks in that epistle of his journey. His first intention had been, as he declares, to "pass by them into Macedonia:" that intention having been previously given up, he writes, in his first epistle, "that he would not see them now by the way," that is, as he must have done upon his first plan; but "that he trusted to tarry awhile with them, and possibly to abide, yea and winter with them." 1 Cor. xvi. 5, 6. It also accounts for a singularity in the text referred to, which must strike every reader: "I will come to you when I pass through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia." The supplemental sentence, "for I do pass through Macedonia," imports that there had been some previous communication upon the subject of the journey; and also that there had been some vacillation and indecisiveness in the apostle's plan: both which we now perceive to have been the case. The sentence is as much as to say, "This is what I at last resolve upon." The expression "*ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω*," is ambiguous; it may denote either "when I pass," or "when I shall have passed, through Macedonia:" the considerations offered above fix it to the latter sense. (n) Lastly, the point we have endeavoured to make out confirms, or rather, indeed, is necessary to the support of a conjecture, which forms the subject of a number in our observations upon the first epistle, that the insinuation of certain of the church of Corinth, that he would come no more amongst them, was founded on some previous disappointment of their expectations.

No. V.

But if St. Paul had changed his purpose before the writing of the first epistle, why did he defer explaining himself to the Corinthians, concerning the reason of that change, until he wrote the second? This is a very fair question; and we are able, I think, to return to it a satisfactory answer. The real cause, and the cause at length assigned by St. Paul for post-

(n) This remark is, I conceive, incorrect. The force of the subjunctive aorist is distinctly given only by the second version, "when I shall have passed through Macedonia;" and this is the meaning which the scope of history plainly requires.
—Ed.

poning his visit to Corinth, and not travelling by the route which he had at first designed, was the disorderly state of the Corinthian church at the time, and the painful severities which he should have found himself obliged to exercise, if he had come amongst them during the existence of these irregularities. He was willing therefore to try, before he came in person, what a letter of authoritative objurgation would do amongst them, and to leave time for the operation of the experiment. That was his scheme in writing the first epistle. But it was not for him to acquaint them with the scheme. After the epistle had produced its effect (and to the utmost extent, as it should seem, of the apostle's hopes); when he had wrought in them a deep sense of their fault, and an almost passionate solicitude to restore themselves to the approbation of their teacher; when Titus (chap. vii. 6, 7, 11) had brought him intelligence "of their earnest desire, their mourning, their fervent mind towards him, of their sorrow and their penitence; what carefulness, what clearing of themselves, what indignation, what fear, what vehement desire, what zeal, what revenge," his letter, and the general concern occasioned by it, had excited amongst them; he then opens himself fully upon the subject. The affectionate mind of the apostle is touched by this return of zeal and duty. He tells them that he did not visit them at the time proposed, lest their meeting should have been attended with mutual grief; and with grief to him embittered by the reflection, that he was giving pain to those from whom alone he could receive comfort: "I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in heaviness. For if I make you sorry, who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me?" (chap. ii. 1, 2:) that he had written his former epistle to warn them beforehand of their fault, "lest, when he came, he should have sorrow from them of whom he ought to rejoice" (chap. ii. 3): that he had the further view, though perhaps unperceived by them, of making an experiment of their fidelity, "to know the proof of them whether they are obedient in all things" (chap. ii. 9). This full discovery of his motive came very naturally from the apostle, after he had seen the success of his measures, but would not have been a seasonable communication before. The whole composes a train of sentiment and of conduct resulting from real situation, and from real circumstance, and as remote as possible from fiction or imposture.

No. VI.

Chap. xi. 9. "When I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man; for that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied." The principal fact set forth in this passage, the arrival at Corinth of brethren from Macedonia during St. Paul's first residence in that city, is explicitly recorded, Acts xviii. 1, 5. "After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth.—And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ."

No. VII.

The above quotation from the Acts proves that Silas and Timotheus were assistants to St. Paul in preaching the gospel at Corinth. With which correspond the words of the epistle (chap. i. 19): "For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me and Silvanus and Timotheus, was not yea and nay; but in him was yea." I do admit that the correspondency, considered by itself, is too direct and obvious; and that an impostor with the history before him might, and probably would, produce agreements of the same kind. But let it be remembered, that this reference is found in a writing, which from many discrepancies, and especially from those noted No. II., we may conclude, was not composed by any one who had consulted, and who pursued, the history. Some observation also arises upon the variation of the name. We read Silas in the Acts, Silvanus in the epistle. The similitude of these two names, if they were the names of different persons, is greater than could easily have proceeded from accident; I mean that it is not probable, that two persons placed in situations so much alike should bear names so nearly resembling each other.* On the other hand, the difference of the name in the two passages negatives the supposition of the passages, or the account contained in them, being transcribed either from the other.

No. VIII.*

Chap. ii. 12, 13. "When I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord,

* That they were the same persons is farther confirmed by 1 Thess. chap. i. 1, compared with Acts, chap. xvii. 10.

I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia."

To establish a conformity between this passage and the history, nothing more is necessary to be presumed, than that St. Paul proceeded from Ephesus to Macedonia, upon the same course by which he came back from Macedonia to Ephesus, or rather to Miletus in the neighbourhood of Ephesus; in other words, that in his journey to the peninsula of Greece, he went and returned the same way. St. Paul is now in Macedonia, where he had lately arrived from Ephesus. Our quotation imports that in his journey he had stopped at Troas. Of this the history says nothing, leaving us only the short account, that "Paul departed from Ephesus, for to go into Macedonia." But the history says, that in his *return* from Macedonia to Ephesus, "Paul sailed from Philippi to Troas; and that, when the disciples came together on the first day of the week to break bread, Paul preached unto them all night; that from Troas he went by land to Assos; from Assos, taking ship and coasting along the front of Asia Minor, he came by Mitylene to Miletus." Which account proves, first, that Troas lay in the way by which St. Paul passed between Ephesus and Macedonia; secondly, that he had disciples there. In one journey between these two places, the epistle, and in another journey between the same places, the history, makes him stop at this city. Of the first journey he is made to say, "that a door was in that city opened unto me of the Lord;" in the second, we find disciples there collected around him, and the apostle exercising his ministry, with what was, even in him, more than ordinary zeal and labour. The epistle, therefore, is in this instance confirmed, if not by the terms, at least by the probability, of the history; a species of confirmation by no means to be despised, because, as far as it reaches, it is evidently uncontrived.

Grotius, I know, refers the arrival at Troas, to which the epistle alludes, to a different period, but I think very improbably; for nothing appears to me more certain, than that the meeting with Titus, which St. Paul expected at Troas, was the same meeting which took place in Macedonia, namely, upon Titus's coming out of Greece. In the quotation before us, he tells the Corinthians, "When I came to Troas, . . . I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but,

taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." Then in the seventh chapter he writes, "When we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless God, that comforteth them that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." These two passages plainly relate to the same journey of Titus, in meeting with whom St. Paul had been disappointed at Troas, and rejoiced in Macedonia. And amongst other reasons which fix the former passage to the coming of Titus out of Greece, is the consideration, that it was nothing to the Corinthians that St. Paul did not meet with Titus at Troas, were it not that he was to bring intelligence from Corinth. The mention of the disappointment in this place, upon any other supposition, is irrelative. (o)

No. IX.

Chap. xi. 24, 25. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one, thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep."

These particulars cannot be extracted out of the Acts of the Apostles; which proves, as hath been already observed, that the epistle was not framed from the history: yet they are consistent with it, which, considering how numerically circumstantial the account is, is more than could happen to arbitrary and independent fictions. When I say that these particulars are *consistent* with the history, I mean, first, that there is no article in the enumeration which is contradicted by the history: secondly, that the history, though silent with respect to many of the facts here enumerated, has left space for the existence of these facts, consistent with the fidelity of its own narration.

First, no contradiction is discoverable between the epistle and the history. When St. Paul says, *thrice* was I beaten with rods, although the history record only *one* beating with rods, namely, at Philippi, Acts xvi. 22, yet there is no contradiction. It is only the omission in one book of what is related in another. But had the history contained accounts

(o) In *Horn's Apost.* No. 1., on this epistle, will be found a farther disproof of the very baseless hypothesis of Grotius, that some earlier visit to Troas is alluded to. In No. 11. will be found the development of another coincidence in the same passage, very circuitous, and beautifully complete.—ED.

of *four* beatings with rods, at the time of writing this epistle, in which St. Paul says that he had only suffered three, there would have been a contradiction properly so called. The same observation applies generally to the other parts of the enumeration, concerning which the history is silent: but there is one clause in the quotation particularly deserving of remark; because, when confronted with the history, it furnishes the nearest approach to a contradiction, without a contradiction being actually incurred, of any I remember to have met with: "Once," saith St. Paul, "was I stoned." Does the history relate that St. Paul, prior to the writing of this epistle, had been stoned more than once? The history mentions distinctly one occasion upon which St. Paul was stoned, namely, at Lystra in Lycaonia: "There came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead." (Acts xiv. 19.) And it mentions also another occasion in which "an assault was made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully and to stone them; but they were aware of it," the history proceeds to tell us, "and fled into Lystra and Derbe." This happened at Iconium, prior to the date of the epistle. Now, had the assault been completed; had the history related that a stone was thrown, as it relates that preparations were made both by Jews and Gentiles to stone Paul and his companions; or even had the account of this transaction stopped, without going on to inform us that Paul and his companions were "aware of their danger and fled," a contradiction between the history and the epistle would have ensued. Truth is necessarily consistent: but it is scarcely possible that independent accounts, not having truth to guide them, should thus advance to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it.

Secondly, I say, that if the Acts of the Apostles be silent concerning many of the instances enumerated in the epistle, this silence may be accounted for from the plan and fabric of the history. The date of the epistle synchronizes with the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The part, therefore, of the history, which precedes the twentieth chapter, is the only part in which can be found any notice of the persecutions to which St. Paul refers. Now it does not appear that the author of the history was with St. Paul until his departure from Troas, on his way to Macedonia, as related

chap. xvi. 10; or rather indeed the contrary appears. It is in this point of the history that the language changes. In the seventh and eighth verses of this chapter the third person is used: "After *they* were come to Mysia, *they* assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not. And *they* passing by Mysia came to Troas:" and the third person is in like manner constantly used throughout the foregoing part of the history. In the tenth verse of this chapter, the first person comes in: "After Paul had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* for to preach the gospel unto them." Now, from this time to the writing of the epistle, the history occupies four chapters; yet it is in these, if in any, that a regular or continued account of the apostle's life is to be expected; for how succinctly his history is delivered in the preceding part of the book, that is to say, from the time of his conversion to the time when the historian joined him at Troas, except the particulars of his conversion itself, which are related circumstantially, may be understood from the following observations:—

The history of a period of sixteen years is comprised in less than three chapters; and of these, a material part is taken up with discourses. After his conversion, he continued in the neighbourhood of Damascus, according to the history, for a certain considerable, though indefinite, length of time, according to his own words (Gal. i. 18), for three years; of which no other account is given than this short one, that "straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God; that all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem? that he increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus; and that after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him." From Damascus he proceeded to Jerusalem; and of his residence there nothing more particular is recorded, than that "he was with the apostles, coming in and going out; that he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians, who went about to kill him." From Jerusalem, the history sends him to his native city of Tarsus.* It seems probable, from the order and disposition of the history, that St. Paul's stay at Tarsus was of some

* Acts, chap. ix. 30.

continuance ; for we hear nothing of him until, after a long apparent interval, and much interjacent narrative, Barnabas, desirous of Paul's assistance upon the enlargement of the Christian mission, "went to Tarsus for to seek him."* We cannot doubt but that the new apostle had been busied in his ministry ; yet of what he did, or what he suffered, during this period, which may include three or four years, the history professes not to deliver any information. As Tarsus was situated upon the sea-coast, and as, though Tarsus was his home, yet it is probable he visited from thence many other places, for the purpose of preaching the gospel, it is not unlikely, that in the course of three or four years he might undertake many short voyages to neighbouring countries, in the navigating of which we may be allowed to suppose that some of those disasters and shipwrecks befell him to which he refers in the quotation before us, "thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep." This last clause I am inclined to interpret of his being obliged to take an open boat, upon the loss of the ship, and his continuing out at sea in that dangerous situation, a night and a day. St. Paul is here recounting his sufferings, not relating miracles. From Tarsus, Barnabas brought Paul to Antioch, and there he remained a year : but of the transactions of that year no other description is given than what is contained in the last four verses of the eleventh chapter. After a more solemn dedication to the ministry, Barnabas and Paul proceeded from Antioch to Cilicia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus, of which voyage no particulars are mentioned. Upon their return from Cyprus, they made a progress together through the Lesser Asia ; and though two remarkable speeches be preserved, and a few incidents in the course of their travels circumstantially related, yet is the account of this progress, upon the whole, given professedly with conciseness ; for instance, at Iconium, it is said that they abode a long time ;† yet of this long abode, except concerning the manner in which they were driven away, no memoir is inserted in the history. The whole is wrapped up in one short summary, "They spake boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands." Having completed their progress, the two apostles returned to Antioch, "and there they abode a long

* Chap. xi. 25.

† Chap. xiv. 3.

time with the disciples." Here we have another large portion of time passed over in silence. To this succeeded a journey to Jerusalem, upon a dispute which then much agitated the Christian church, concerning the obligation of the law of Moses. When the object of that journey was completed, Paul proposed to Barnabas to go again and visit their brethren in every city where they had preached the word of the Lord. The execution of this plan carried our apostle through Syria, Cilicia, and many provinces of the Lesser Asia; yet is the account of the whole journey dispatched in four verses of the sixteenth chapter.

If the Acts of the Apostles had undertaken to exhibit regular annals of St. Paul's ministry, or even any continued account of his life, from his conversion at Damascus to his imprisonment at Rome, I should have thought the omission of the circumstances referred to in our epistle a matter of reasonable objection. But when it appears, from the history itself, that large portions of St. Paul's life were either passed over in silence, or only slightly touched upon, and that nothing more than certain detached incidents and discourses is related; when we observe, also, that the author of the history did not join our apostle's society till a few years before the writing of the epistle, at least that there is no proof in the history that he did so; in comparing the history with the epistle, we shall not be surprised by the discovery of omissions; we shall ascribe it to truth that there is no contradiction.

No. X.

Chap. iii. 1. "Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some others, letters of commendation from you?"

"As some others." Turn to Acts xviii. 27, and you will find that a short time before the writing of this epistle, Apollos had gone to Corinth with letters of commendation from the Ephesian Christians; "and when Apollos was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him." Here the words of the epistle bear the appearance of alluding to some specific instance, and the history supplies that instance; it supplies at least an instance as apposite as possible to the terms which the apostle uses, and to the date and direction of the epistle in which they are found. The letter which Apollos carried

from Ephesus was precisely the letter of commendation which St. Paul meant; and it was to Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital, and indeed to Corinth itself (Acts, chap. xix. 1), that Apollos carried it; and it was about two years before the writing of this epistle. If St. Paul's words be rather thought to refer to some general usage which then obtained among the Christian churches, the case of Apollos exemplifies that usage; and affords that species of confirmation to the epistle, which arises from seeing the manners of the age, in which it purports to be written, faithfully preserved.

No. XI.*

Chap. xiii. 1. "This is the third time I am coming to you:" *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι.*

Do not these words import that the writer had been at Corinth twice before? Yet if they import this, they upset every congruity we have been endeavouring to establish. The Acts of the Apostles record only two journeys of St. Paul to Corinth. We have all along supposed, what every mark of time except this expression indicates, that this epistle was written between the first and second of these journeys. If St. Paul had been already twice at Corinth, this supposition must be given up: and every argument or observation which depends upon it falls to the ground. Again, the Acts of the Apostles not only record no more than two journeys of St. Paul to Corinth, but do not allow us to suppose that more than two such journeys could be made or intended by him within the period which the history comprises; for from his first journey into Greece to his first imprisonment at Rome, with which the history concludes, the apostle's time is accounted for. If therefore the epistle was written after the second journey to Corinth, and upon the view and expectation of a third, it must have been written after his first imprisonment at Rome, that is, after the time to which the history extends. When I first read over this epistle with the particular view of comparing it with the history, which I chose to do without consulting any commentary whatever, I own that I felt myself confounded by this text. It appeared to contradict the opinion, which I had been led by a great variety of circumstances to form, concerning the date and occasion of the epistle. At length, however, it occurred to

my thoughts to inquire, whether the passage did necessarily imply that St. Paul had been at Corinth twice; or, whether, when he says, "this is the third time I am coming to you," he might mean only that this was the third time that he was ready, that he was prepared, that he intended to set out on his journey to Corinth. I recollected that he had once before this purposed to visit Corinth, and had been disappointed in this purpose; which disappointment forms the subject of much apology and protestation, in the first and second chapters of the epistle. Now, if the journey in which he had been disappointed was reckoned by him one of the times in which "he was coming to them," then the present, would be the third time, that is, of his being ready and prepared to come; although he had been actually at Corinth only *once* before. This conjecture being taken up, a further examination of the passage and the epistle produced proofs which placed it beyond doubt. "This is the third time I am coming to you:" in the verse following these words, he adds, "I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, *the second time*; and being absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that, if I come again, I will not spare." In this verse the apostle is declaring beforehand what he would do in his intended visit: his expression, therefore, "as if I were present a second time," relates to that visit. But, if his future visit would only make him present among them a second time, it follows that he had been already there but once. Again, in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter, he tells them, "In this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a *second* benefit." Why a second, and not a third benefit? why *δεύτεραν*, and not *τρίτην χάριν*, if the *τρίτον ἐρχομαι*, in the fifteenth chapter, meant a *third* visit? for, though the visit in the first chapter be that visit in which he was disappointed, yet, as it is evident from the epistle that he had never been at Corinth from the time of the disappointment to the time of writing the epistle, it follows, that if it were only a second visit in which he was disappointed then, it could only be a second visit which he proposed now. But the text which I think is decisive of the question, if any question remain upon the subject, is the fourteenth verse of the twelfth chapter, "Behold the third time I am ready to come to you:" *Ἰδοὺ τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν*. It is very clear that the *τρίτον*

ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν of the twelfth chapter, and the τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι of the thirteenth chapter, are equivalent expressions, were intended to convey the same meaning, and to relate to the same journey. The comparison of these phrases gives us St. Paul's own explanation of his own words; and it is that very explanation which we are contending for, namely, that τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι does not mean that he was coming a third time, but that this was the third time he was in readiness to come, τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχων. I do not apprehend, that after this it can be necessary to call to our aid the reading of the Alexandrian manuscript, which gives ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν in the thirteenth chapter as well as in the twelfth; or of the Syriac and Coptic versions, which follow that reading; because I allow that this reading, besides not being sufficiently supported by ancient copies, is probably paraphrastical, and has been inserted for the purpose of expressing more unequivocally the sense, which the shorter expression τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι was supposed to carry. Upon the whole, the matter is sufficiently certain: nor do I propose it as a new interpretation of the text which contains the difficulty, for the same was given by Grotius long ago: but I thought it the clearest way of explaining the subject to describe the manner in which the difficulty, the solution, and the proofs of that solution, successively presented themselves to my inquiries. Now, in historical researches, a reconciled inconsistency becomes a positive argument. First, because an impostor generally guards against the appearance of inconsistency; and secondly, because, when apparent inconsistencies are found, it is seldom that anything but truth renders them capable of reconciliation. The existence of the difficulty proves the want or absence of that caution, which usually accompanies the consciousness of fraud; and the solution proves, that it is not the collusion of fortuitous propositions which we have to deal with, but that a thread of truth winds through the whole, which preserves every circumstance in its place. (p)

(p) In this article the difficulty, supposing the words to imply a third visit to Corinth, appears to be overstated. It is true that all the internal signs fix the date of the epistle about the time of the tumult at Ephesus. And hence the real question is not, whether it were written before the visit in Acts xx. 1, 2, or before some later visit; but whether a second visit, not mentioned in the history, had already taken place, or, on the other hand, a second visit in purpose only, which had never been fulfilled. Dr. Burton, and many others, adopt the former view. He places the visit to Crete, and the Epistle to Titus, during the long stay at Ephesus, and supposes the apostle to have touched at Corinth in the way. One of the reasons of Paley for the opposite view, from 2 Cor. i. 15, is clearly of no weight. The phrase,

No. XII.*

Chap. x. 14-16. "We are come as far as to you also in preaching the gospel of Christ; not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly to preach the gospel in the regions beyond you."

This quotation affords an indirect, and therefore unsuspecting, but at the same time a distinct and indubitable recognition of the truth and exactness of the history. I consider it to be implied by the words of the quotation, that Corinth was the extremity of St. Paul's travels *hitherto*. He expresses to the Corinthians his hope, that in some future visit he might "preach the gospel to the regions beyond them;" which imports that he had not hitherto proceeded "beyond them," but that Corinth was as yet the furthest point or boundary of his travels.—Now, how is St. Paul's first journey into Europe, which was the only one he had taken before the writing of the epistle, traced out in the history? Sailing from Asia, he landed at Philippi; from Philippi, traversing the eastern coast of the peninsula, he passed through Amphipolis and Appollonia to Thessalonica; from thence through Berea to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth, *where he stopped*; and from whence, after a residence of a year and a half, he sailed back into Syria. So that Corinth was the last place which he visited in the peninsula; was the place from which he returned into Asia, and was, as such, the boundary and limit of his progress. He could not have said the same thing, namely "I hope hereafter to visit the regions beyond you," in an epistle to the Philippians, or in an epistle to the Thessalonians, inasmuch as he must be deemed to have already visited the regions beyond *them*, having proceeded from those cities to other parts of Greece. But from Corinth

a second benefit, refers most naturally to the double visit, which was the apostle's design at first, in contrast with that single visit, which resulted from the alteration of his plan. The reading varies slightly in 2 Cor. xiii. 2, and though the passage may be explained in either view, it seems to agree best with the view of Grotius and Paley. "I have foretold, and foretell, as if present the second time, even now when absent, to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all others, that if I come again, I will not spare." It is more natural to suppose that he refers to the visit close at hand, than to another of which there is no trace elsewhere, either in the letters or the history. The comparison of 2 Cor. xiii. 1, with xii. 14, is a still more powerful reason for the same view, which Paley has justly preferred; but still there is no violent improbability in the opinion of several critics, that a second brief visit had occurred during the apostle's long stay at Ephesus.—Ed.

he returned home: every part therefore beyond that city might properly be said, as it is said in the passage before us, to be unvisited. Yet is this propriety the spontaneous effect of truth, and produced without meditation or design. (q)

CHAPTER V.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

No. I.

THE argument of this epistle in some measure proves its antiquity. It will hardly be doubted, but that it was written whilst the dispute concerning the circumcision of Gentile converts was fresh in men's minds: for, even supposing it to have been a forgery, the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, was to bring the name and authority of the apostle into this controversy. No design could be so insipid, or so unlikely to enter into the thoughts of any man, as to produce an epistle written earnestly and pointedly upon one side of a controversy, when the controversy itself was dead, and the question no longer interesting to any description of readers whatever. Now the controversy concerning the circumcision of the Gentile Christians was of such a nature, that, if it arose at all, it must have arisen in the beginning of Christianity. As Judæa was the scene of the Christian history; as the Author and preachers of Christianity were Jews; as the religion itself acknowledged and was founded upon the Jewish religion, in contradistinction to every other religion then professed amongst mankind: it was not to be wondered at, that some of its teachers should carry it out in the world rather as a sect and modification of Judaism, than as a separate original revelation; or that they should invite their proselytes to those observances in which they lived themselves. This was likely to happen: but if it did not happen *at first*; if, whilst the religion was in the hands of Jewish teachers, no such claim was advanced, no such condition was attempted to be imposed, it is not probable that the doctrine would be started, much less that it should prevail in any future period. I likewise think, that those pretensions of Judaism were much more likely to be insisted upon, whilst the Jews continued a nation, than after their fall

(q) See *Horn's* Apost: ch. v. No. 11. for some further remarks on the above passage.—Ed.

and dispersion ; whilst Jerusalem and the temple stood, than after the destruction brought upon them by the Roman arms, the fatal cessation of the sacrifice and the priesthood, the humiliating loss of their country, and, with it, of the great rites and symbols of their institution. It should seem, therefore, from the nature of the subject, and the situation of the parties, that this controversy was carried on in the interval between the preaching of Christianity to the Gentiles and the invasion of Titus ; and that our present epistle, which was undoubtedly intended to bear a part in this controversy, must be referred to the same period.

But, again, the epistle supposes that certain designing adherents of the Jewish law had crept into the churches of Galatia, and had been endeavouring, and but too successfully, to persuade the Galatic converts that they had been taught the new religion imperfectly and at second hand ; that the founder of their church himself possessed only an inferior and deputed commission, the seat of truth and authority being in the apostles and elders of Jerusalem ; moreover, that whatever he might profess amongst them, he had himself, at other times and in other places, given way to the doctrine of circumcision. The epistle is unintelligible without supposing all this. Referring therefore to this, as to what had actually passed, we find St. Paul treating so unjust an attempt to undermine his credit, and to introduce among his converts a doctrine which he had uniformly reprobated, in terms of great asperity and indignation. And in order to refute the suspicions which had been raised concerning the fidelity of his teaching, as well as to assert the independency and Divine original of his mission, we find him appealing to the history of his conversion, to his conduct under it, to the manner in which he had conferred with the apostles when he met with them at Jerusalem : alleging, that so far was his doctrine from being derived from them, or they from exercising any superiority over him, that they had simply assented to what he had already preached among the Gentiles, and which preaching was communicated not by them to him, but by himself to them ; that he had maintained the liberty of the Gentile church, by opposing, upon one occasion, an apostle to the face, when the timidity of his behaviour seemed to endanger it ; that from the first, that all along, that to that hour, he had constantly resisted the claims of Judaism ; and that the persecutions which he

daily underwent, at the hands or by the instigation of the Jews, and of which he bore in his person the marks and scars, might have been avoided by him, if he had consented to employ his labours in bringing, through the medium of Christianity, converts over to the Jewish institution, for then "would the offence of the cross have ceased." Now an impostor who had forged the epistle for the purpose of producing St. Paul's authority in the dispute, which, as hath been observed, is the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, might have made the apostle deliver his opinion upon the subject in strong and decisive terms, or might have put his name to a train of reasoning and argumentation upon that side of the question which the impostor was intended to recommend. I can allow the possibility of such a scheme as that; but for a writer, with this purpose in view, to feign a series of transactions supposed to have passed amongst the Christians of Galatia, and then to counterfeit expressions of anger and resentment excited by these transactions; to make the apostle travel back into his own history, and into a recital of various passages of his life, some indeed directly, but others obliquely, and others even obscurely bearing upon the point in question; in a word, to substitute narrative for argument, expostulation and complaint for dogmatic positions and controversial reasoning, in a writing properly controversial, and of which the aim and design was to support one side of a much agitated question—is a method so intricate, and so unlike the methods pursued by all other impostors, as to require very flagrant proofs of imposition to induce us to believe it to be one.

No. II.

In this number I shall endeavour to prove,

1. That the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, were written without any communication with each other.

2. That the Epistle, though written without any communication with the history, by recital, implication, or reference, bears testimony to many of the facts contained in it.

1. The Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles were written without any communication with each other.

To judge of this point, we must examine those passages in each, which describe the same transaction; for, if the author

of either writing derived his information from the account which he had seen in the other, when he came to speak of the same transaction, he would follow that account. The history of St. Paul, at Damascus, as read in the Acts, and as referred to by the epistle, forms an instance of this sort. According to the Acts, Paul (after his conversion) was certain days with the "disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on his name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests? But Saul increased the more in strength, confounding the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him. But their laying await was known to Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket. And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples," chap. ix. 19—26.

According to the epistle, "When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went into Arabia; and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem."

Beside the difference observable in the terms and general complexion of these two accounts, "the journey into Arabia," mentioned in the epistle and omitted in the history, affords full proof that there existed no correspondence between these writers. If the narrative in the Acts had been made up from the epistle, it is impossible that this journey should have been passed over in silence; if the epistle had been composed out of what the author had read of St. Paul's history in the Acts, it is unaccountable that it should have been inserted.*

* N.B. The Acts of the Apostles simply inform us that St. Paul left Damascus in order to go to Jerusalem, "after many days were fulfilled." If any doubt whether the words "many days" could be intended to express a period which included a term of three years, he will find a complete instance of the same phrase used with the same latitude in the first book of Kings, chap. xi. 38, 39. "And Shimei dwelt in Jerusalem *many days*. And it came to pass at the end of *three years*, that two of the servants of Shimei ran away."

The journey to Jerusalem related in the second chapter of the epistle ("then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem") supplies another example of the same kind. Either this was the journey described in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, when Paul and Barnabas were sent from Antioch to Jerusalem, to consult the apostles and elders upon the question of the Gentile converts; or it was some journey of which the history does not take notice. If the first opinion be followed, the discrepancy in the two accounts is so considerable, that it is not without difficulty they can be adapted to the same transaction: so that, upon this supposition, there is no place for suspecting that the writers were guided or assisted by each other. If the latter opinion be preferred, we have then a journey to Jerusalem, and a conference with the principal members of the church there, circumstantially related in the epistle, and entirely omitted in the Acts; and we are at liberty to repeat the observation, which we before made, that the omission of so material a fact in the history is inexplicable, if the historian had read the epistle; and that the insertion of it in the epistle, if the writer derived his information from the history, is not less so.

St. Peter's visit to Antioch, during which the dispute arose between him and St. Paul, is not mentioned in the Acts.

If we connect, with these instances, the general observation, that no scrutiny can discover the smallest trace of transcription or imitation, either in things or words, we shall be fully satisfied in this part of our case; namely, that the two records, be the facts contained in them true or false, come to our hands from independent sources.

Secondly, I say that the epistle, thus proved to have been written without any communication with the history, bears testimony to a great variety of particulars contained in the history.

1. St. Paul, in the early part of his life, had addicted himself to the study of the Jewish religion, and was distinguished by his zeal for the institution, and for the traditions which had been incorporated with it. Upon this part of his character the history makes St. Paul speak thus: "I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers; and

was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day," Acts xxii. 3.

The epistle is as follows : " I profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers," chap. i. 14.

2. St. Paul, before his conversion, had been a fierce persecutor of the new sect. " As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison," Acts viii. 3.

This is the history of St. Paul, as delivered in the Acts ; in the recital of his own history in the epistle, " Ye have heard," says he, " of my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God," chap. i. 13.

3. St. Paul was miraculously converted on his way to Damascus. " And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus : and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven : and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? And he said, Who art thou, Lord ? And the Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest : it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ?" Acts ix. 3-6. With these compare the epistle, chap. i. 15-17 : " When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen ; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood : neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before me ; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus."

In this quotation from the epistle, I desire it to be remarked how incidentally it appears, that the affair passed at *Damascus*. In what may be called the direct part of the account, no mention is made of the place of his conversion at all : a casual expression at the end, and an expression brought in for a different purpose, alone fixes it to have been at Damascus ; " I returned again unto Damascus." Nothing can be more like simplicity and undesignedness than this is. It also draws the agreement between the two quotations somewhat closer, to observe, that they both state St. Paul to have preached the gospel immediately upon his call : " And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God,"

Acts ix. 20. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood," Galatians i. 15.

4. The course of the apostle's travels after his conversion was this: He went from Damascus to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem into Syria and Cilicia. At Damascus, "the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket. And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples," Acts ix. 25, 26. Afterwards, "when the brethren knew" the conspiracy formed against him at Jerusalem, "they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus," a city in Cilicia, ver. 30. In the epistle, St. Paul gives the following brief account of his proceedings within the same period: "After three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.—Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia." The history had told us that Paul passed from Cæsarea to Tarsus: if he took his journey by land, it would carry him through Syria into Cilicia; and he would come, after his visit at Jerusalem, "into the regions of Syria and Cilicia," in the very order in which he mentions them in the epistle. This supposition of his going from Cæsarea to Tarsus, *by land*, clears up also another point. It accounts for what St. Paul says in the same place concerning the churches of Judæa: "Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and was unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ: but they had heard only, That he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me." Upon which passage I observe, first, that what is here said of the churches of Judæa, is spoken in connexion with his journey into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Secondly, that the passage itself has little significancy, and that the *connexion* is inexplicable, unless St. Paul went through Judæa* (though probably by a hasty journey) at the time that he came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Suppose him to have passed by land from Cæsarea to Tarsus, all this, as hath been observed, would be precisely true. (r).

* Dr. Doddridge thought that the Cæsarea here mentioned was not the celebrated city of that name upon the Mediterranean sea, but Cæsarea Philippi, near the borders of Syria, which lies in a much more direct line from Jerusalem to Tarsus than the other. The objection to this, Dr. Benson remarks, is, that Cæsarea, without any addition, usually denotes Cæsarea Palestinæ.

(r) This hypothesis of a land journey is without the least warrant in the passage.

5. Barnabas was with St. Paul at Antioch. "Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul: and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church," Acts xi. 25, 26. Again, and upon another occasion, Paul and Barnabas "sailed to Antioch:" and there they continued a "long time with the disciples," chap. xiv. 26.

Now what says the epistle? "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.—And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation," chap. ii. 11, 13.

6. The stated residence of the apostles was at Jerusalem. "At that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria, except the apostles," Acts viii. 1. "They (the Christians at Antioch) determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question," Acts xv. 2.—With these accounts agrees the declaration in the epistle: "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me," chap. i. 17, for this declaration implies, or rather assumes it to be known, that Jerusalem was the place where the apostles were to be met with.

7. There were at Jerusalem two apostles, or at the least two eminent members of the church, of the name of James. This is directly inferred from the Acts of the Apostles, which in the second verse of the twelfth chapter relates the death of James, the brother of John; and yet in the fifteenth chapter, and in a subsequent part of the history, records a speech delivered by James in the assembly of the apostles and elders. It is also strongly implied by the form of expression used in the epistle: "Other apostles saw I none, save James, the *Lord's brother*:" that is, to distinguish him from James the brother of John.

To us who have been long conversant in the Christian his-

on which Paley, by a very unusual oversight, has sought to found it; for the words (Gal. i. 21, 22) clearly do not refer to the order of St. Paul's route on a hasty journey, but to the scene of his continued abode for many years. Syria is named before Cilicia, either because Antioch was a more important scene of labour than Tarsus, or because his stay was much longer in that province.—Ed.

tory, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles, these points are obvious and familiar; nor do we readily apprehend any greater difficulty in making them appear in a letter purporting to have been written by St. Paul, than there is in introducing them into a modern sermon. But, to judge correctly of the argument before us, we must discharge this knowledge from our thoughts. We must propose to ourselves the situation of an author who sat down to the writing of the epistle without having seen the history; and then the concurrences we have deduced will be deemed of importance. They will at least be taken for separate confirmations of the several facts, and not only of these particular facts, but of the general truth of the history.

For, what is the rule with respect to corroborative testimony which prevails in courts of justice, and which prevails only because experience has proved that it is an useful guide to truth? A principal witness in a cause delivers his account: his narrative, in certain parts of it, is confirmed by witnesses who are called afterwards. The credit derived from their testimony belongs not only to the particular circumstances in which the auxiliary witnesses agree with the principal witness, but in some measure to the whole of his evidence; because it is improbable that accident or fiction should draw a line which touched upon truth in so many points.

In like manner, if two records be produced, manifestly independent, that is, manifestly written without any participation of intelligence, an agreement between them, even in few and slight circumstances, (especially if from the different nature and design of the writings few points only of agreement, and those incidental, could be expected to occur,) would add a sensible weight to the authority of both, in every part of their contents.

The same rule is applicable to history, with at least as much reason as any other species of evidence.

No. III.

But although the references to various particulars in the epistle, compared with the direct account of the same particulars in the history, afford a considerable proof of the truth not only of these particulars, but of the narrative which contains them; yet they do not show, it will be said, that the epistle was written by St. Paul: for admitting (what seems

to have been proved) that the writer, whoever he was, had no recourse to the Acts of the Apostles, yet many of the facts referred to, such as St. Paul's miraculous conversion, his change from a virulent persecutor to an indefatigable preacher, his labours amongst the Gentiles, and his zeal for the liberties of the Gentile church, were so notorious as to occur readily to the mind of any Christian, who should choose to personate his character, and counterfeit his name; it was only to write what every body knew. Now I think that this supposition—namely, that the epistle was composed upon general information, and the general publicity of the facts alluded to, and that the author did no more than weave into his work what the common fame of the Christian church had reported to his ears—is repelled by the particularity of the recitals and references. This particularity is observable in the following instances; in perusing which, I desire the reader to reflect, whether they exhibit the language of a man who had nothing but general reputation to proceed upon, or of a man actually speaking of himself and of his own history, and consequently of things concerning which he possessed a clear, intimate, and circumstantial knowledge.

1. The history, in giving an account of St. Paul after his conversion, relates, “that, after many days,” effecting, by the assistance of the disciples, his escape from Damascus, “he proceeded to Jerusalem,” Acts ix. 25. The epistle, speaking of the same period, makes St. Paul say that “he went into Arabia,” that he returned again to Damascus, that after three years he went up to Jerusalem. Chap. i. 17, 18.

2. The history relates, that, when Saul was come from Damascus, he was with the disciples “coming in and going out,” Acts ix. 28. The epistle, describing the same journey, tells us, that he “went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days,” chap. i. 18.

3. The history relates that when Paul was come to Jerusalem, “Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles,” Acts ix. 27. The epistle, that he saw Peter; but other of the apostles saw he “none, save James, the Lord's brother,” chap. i. 19.

Now this is as it should be. The historian delivers his account in general terms, as of facts at which he was not present. The person who is the subject of that account, when

he comes to speak of these facts himself, particularizes time, names, and circumstances.

4. The like notation of places, persons, and dates, is met with in the account of St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem, given in the second chapter of the epistle. It was fourteen years after his conversion; it was in company with Barnabas and Titus; it was then that he met with James, Cephas, and John; it was then also that it was agreed amongst them, that they should go to the circumcision, and he unto the Gentiles.

5. The dispute with Peter, which occupies the sequel of the second chapter, is marked with the same particularity. It was at Antioch; it was after certain came from James; it was whilst Barnabas was there, who was carried away by their dissimulation. These examples negative the insinuation, that the epistle presents nothing but indefinite allusions to public facts.

No. IV.

Chap. iv. 11-16. "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first. And *my temptation which was in the flesh* ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them unto me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

With this passage compare 2 Corinthians xii. 1-9: "It is not expedient for me doubtless to glory. I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such a one caught up to the third heaven; and I knew such a man, (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Of such a one will I glory: yet of myself I will not glory, but in mine infirmities. For, though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I will say the truth: but now I forbear lest any man should think of me above that

which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me. And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me *a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me*, lest I should be exalted above measure. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee : for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

There can be no doubt but that "the temptation which was in the flesh," mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, and "the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him," mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, were intended to denote the same thing. Either therefore it was, what we pretend it to have been, the same person in both, alluding, as the occasion led him, to some bodily infirmity under which he laboured ; that is, we are reading the real letters of a real apostle ; or, it was that a sophist, who had seen the circumstance in one epistle, contrived, for the sake of correspondency, to bring it into another ; or, lastly, it was a circumstance in St. Paul's personal condition, supposed to be well known to those into whose hands the epistle was likely to fall ; and, for that reason, introduced into a writing designed to bear his name. I have extracted the quotations at length, in order to enable the reader to judge accurately of the manner in which the mention of this particular comes in, in each ; because that judgment, I think, will acquit the author of the epistle of the charge of having studiously inserted it, either with a view of producing an apparent agreement between them, or for any other purpose whatever.

The context, by which the circumstance before us is introduced, is in the two places totally different, and without any mark of imitation : yet in both places does the circumstance rise aptly and naturally out of the context, and that context from the train of thought carried on in the epistle.

The Epistle to the Galatians from the beginning to the end, runs in a strain of angry complaint of their defection from the apostle, and from the principles which he had taught them. It was very natural to contrast with this conduct, the zeal with which they had once received him ; and it was not less so to mention, as a proof of their former disposition towards him, the indulgence which, whilst he was amongst them, they

had shown to his infirmity: "My temptation which was in the flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of?" that is, the benedictions which you bestowed upon me; "for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me."

In the two Epistles to the Corinthians, especially in the second, we have the apostle contending with certain teachers in Corinth, who had formed a party in that church against him. To vindicate his personal authority, as well as the dignity and credit of his ministry amongst them, he takes occasion (but not without apologizing repeatedly for the folly, that is, for the indecorum, of pronouncing his own panegyric)* to meet his adversaries in their boastings: "Whereinsoever any is bold, (I speak foolishly,) I am bold also. Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they the ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." Being led to the subject, he goes on, as was natural, to recount his trials and dangers, his incessant cares and labours in the Christian mission. From the proofs which he had given of his zeal and activity in the service of Christ, he passes (and that with the same view of establishing his claim to be considered as "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles") to the visions and revelations which from time to time had been vouchsafed to him. And then, by a close and easy connexion, comes in the mention of his infirmity: "Lest I should be exalted," says he, "above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me."

Thus then, in both epistles, the notice of his infirmity is suited to the place in which it is found. In the Epistle to the Corinthians, the train of thought draws up to the circumstance by a regular approximation. In this epistle, it is suggested by the subject and occasion of the epistle itself. Which observation we offer as an argument to prove that it is

* "Would to God you would bear with me a little in my folly: and indeed bear with me," chap. xi. 1.

"That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting," chap. xi. 17.

"I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me," chap. xii. 11.

not, in either epistle, a circumstance industriously brought forward for the sake of procuring credit to an imposture.

A reader will be taught to perceive the force of this argument, who shall attempt to introduce a *given* circumstance into the body of a writing. To do this without abruptness, or without betraying marks of design in the transition, requires, he will find, more art than he expected to be necessary, certainly more than any one can believe to have been exercised in the composition of these epistles.

No. V.

Chap. iv. 29. "But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now."

Chap. v. 11. "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross ceased."

Chap. vi. 17. "From henceforth, let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

From these several texts, it is apparent that the persecutions which our apostle had undergone were from the hands or by the instigation of the Jews; that it was not for preaching Christianity in opposition to heathenism, but it was for preaching it as distinct from Judaism, that he had brought upon himself the sufferings which had attended his ministry. And this representation perfectly coincides with that which results from the detail of St. Paul's history, as delivered in the Acts. At Antioch, in Pisidia, the "word of the Lord was published throughout all the region. But the *Jews stirred up* the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts," Acts xiii. 49, 50. Not long after, at Iconium, "a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed. But the *unbelieving Jews* stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren," chap. xiv. 1, 2. At Lystra "there came certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead," chap. xiv. 19. The same enmity, and from the same quarter, our apostle experienced in Greece: At Thessalonica, "some of them (the Jews) believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few. But *the*

Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people," chap. xvii. 4, 5. Their persecutors follow them to Berea: "When the *Jews* of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people," chap. xvii. 13. And lastly at Corinth, when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, "*the Jews* made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat." I think it does not appear that our apostle was ever set upon by the Gentiles, unless they were first stirred up by the Jews, except in two instances; in both which the persons who began the assault were immediately interested in his expulsion from the place. Once this happened at Philippi, after the cure of the Pytho-ness: "When her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place, unto the rulers," chap. xvi. 19. And a second time at Ephesus, at the instance of Demetrius, a silversmith which made silver shrines for Diana, who called together "workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth."

No. VI.

I observe an agreement in a somewhat peculiar rule of Christian conduct, as laid down in this epistle, and as exemplified in the second Epistle to the Corinthians. It is not the repetition of the same general precept, which would have been a coincidence of little value; but it is the general precept in one place, and the application of that precept to an actual occurrence in the other. In the sixth chapter and first verse of this epistle, our apostle gives the following direction: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness." In

2 Cor. ii. 6-8, he writes thus : " Sufficient to such a man " (the incestuous person mentioned in the first epistle) " is this punishment, which was inflicted of many. So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such an one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you that ye would confirm your love toward him." I have little doubt but that it was the same mind which dictated these two passages.

No. VII.

Our epistle goes further than any of St. Paul's epistles ; for it avows in direct terms the supersession of the Jewish law, as an instrument of salvation, even to the Jews themselves. Not only were the Gentiles exempt from this authority, but even the Jews were no longer either to place any dependency upon it, or consider themselves as subject to it on a religious account. " Before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after that faith is come, *we are no longer under a schoolmaster,*" chap. iii. 23-25. This was undoubtedly spoken of Jews and to Jews. In like manner, chap. iv. 1-5 ; " Now I say, That the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all ; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world ; but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to *redeem them that were under the law*, that we might receive the adoption of sons." These passages are nothing short of a declaration, that the obligation of the Jewish law, considered as a religious dispensation, the effects of which were to take place in another life, had ceased with respect even to the Jews themselves. What then should be the conduct of a Jew (for such St. Paul was), who preached this doctrine ? To be consistent with himself, either he would no longer comply, in his own person, with the directions of the law ; or, if he did comply, it would be for some other reason than any confidence which he placed in its efficacy, as a religious institution. Now so it happens, that whenever St. Paul's compliance with the Jewish law is mentioned in the history, it is mentioned in connexion with

circumstances which point out the motive from which it proceeded ; and this motive appears to have been always exoteric, namely, a love of order and tranquillity, or an unwillingness to give unnecessary offence. Thus, Acts xvi. 3 : " Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him ; and took and circumcised him *because of the Jews which were in those quarters.*" Again, Acts xxi. 26, 'when Paul consented to exhibit an example of public compliance with a Jewish rite by purifying himself in the temple, it is plainly intimated that he did this to satisfy "many thousands of Jews who believed, and who were all zealous of the law." So far the instances, related in one book, correspond with the doctrine delivered in another.

No. VIII.*

Chap. i. 18. "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."

The shortness of St. Paul's stay at Jerusalem is what I desire the reader to remark. The direct account of the same journey in the Acts, chap. ix. 28, determines nothing concerning the time of his continuance there : "And he was with them (the apostles) coming in and going out at Jerusalem. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians : but they went about to slay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea." Or rather this account, taken by itself, would lead a reader to suppose that St. Paul's abode at Jerusalem had been longer than fifteen days. But turn to the twenty-second chapter of the Acts, and you will find a reference to this visit to Jerusalem, which plainly indicates that Paul's continuance in that city had been of short duration : "And it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance ; and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem : for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." Here we have the general terms of one text so explained by a distant text in the same book, as to bring an indeterminate expression into a close conformity with a specification delivered in another book : a species of consistency not, I think, usually found in fabulous relations. (s)

(s) The reality of this coincidence has been questioned by Mr. Biley, in his valuable Supplement to the *Homæ Paulinæ*, who conceives that the allusion in Acts

No. IX.

Chap. vi. 11. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand."

These words imply that he did not always write with his own hand; which is consonant to what we find intimated in some other of the epistles. The Epistle to the Romans was written by Tertius: "I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord." (Chap. xvi. 22.) The first Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, have all, near the conclusion, this clause, "The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand;" which must be understood, and is universally understood to import, that the rest of the epistle was written by another hand. I do not think it improbable, that an impostor, who had remarked this subscription in some other epistle, should invent the same in a forgery; but that is not done here. The author of this epistle does not imitate the manner of giving St. Paul's signature; he only bids the Galatians observe how large a letter he had written to them with his own hand. He does not say this was different from his ordinary usage; this is left to implication. Now to suppose that this was an artifice to procure credit to an imposture, is to suppose that the author of the forgery, because he knew that others of St. Paul's were *not* written by himself, therefore made the apostle say that this was: which seems an odd turn to give to the circumstance, and to be given for a purpose which would more naturally and more directly have been answered by subjoining the salutation or signature in the form in which it is found in other epistles.*

No. X.*

An exact conformity appears in the manner in which a certain apostle or eminent Christian, whose name was James, is spoken of in the epistle and in the history. Both writings refer to a situation of his at Jerusalem, somewhat different from that of the other apostles; a kind of eminence or pre-

xxii. is not to the first, but to the second visit. In *Horræ Apost.* cap. 11. No. 1. the accuracy of Paley's view is vindicated, and it is shown that it is the first visit to which the allusion is really made.—Ed.

* The words *ἑλίκους γράμμασιν* may probably be meant to describe the character in which he wrote, and not the length of the letter. But this will not alter the truth of our observation. I think, however, that as St. Paul by the mention of his own hand designed to express to the Galatians the great concern which he felt for them, the words, whatever they signify, belong to the whole of the epistle; and not, as Grotius, after St. Jerome, interprets it, to the few verses which follow.

sidency in the church there, or at least a more fixed and stationary residence. (Chap. ii. 11, 12.) "When Peter was at Antioch, . . . before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles." This text plainly attributes a kind of pre-eminency to James; and, as we hear of him twice in the same epistle, dwelling at Jerusalem (chap. i. 19, and ii. 9), we must apply it to the situation which he held in that church. In the Acts of the Apostles, divers intimations occur, conveying the same idea of James's situation. When Peter was miraculously delivered from prison, and had surprised his friends by his appearance among them, after declaring unto them how the Lord had brought him out of prison, "Go show," says he, "these things unto James, and to the brethren." (Acts xii. 17.) Here James is manifestly spoken of in terms of distinction. He appears again with like distinction in the twenty-first chapter, and the seventeenth and eighteenth verses: "And when we (Paul and his company) were come to Jerusalem, . . . the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present." In the debate which took place upon the business of the Gentile converts in the council at Jerusalem, this same person seems to have taken the lead. It was he who closed the debate, and proposed the resolution in which the council ultimately concurred: "Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God."

Upon the whole, that there exists a conformity in the expressions used concerning *James* throughout the history, and in the epistle, is unquestionable. But admitting this conformity, and admitting also the undesignedness of it, what does it prove? It proves that the circumstance itself is founded in truth; that is, that James was a real person, who held a situation of eminence in a real society of Christians at Jerusalem. It confirms also those parts of the narrative which are connected with this circumstance. Suppose, for instance, the truth of the account of Peter's escape from prison was to be tried upon the testimony of a witness who, among other things, made Peter, after his deliverance, say, "Go show these things unto James, and to the brethren;" would it not be material, in such a trial, to make out by other independent proofs, or by a comparison of proofs, drawn from independent sources, that there was actually at that time, living at Jerusalem, such

a person as James ; that this person held such a situation in the society amongst whom these things were transacted, as to render the words which Peter is said to have used concerning him, proper and natural for him to have used ? If this would be pertinent in the discussion of oral testimony, it is still more so in appreciating the credit of remote history.

It must not be dissembled that the comparison of our epistle with the history presents some difficulties, or, to say the least, some questions of considerable magnitude. It may be doubted, in the first place, to what journey the words which open the second chapter of the epistle, "then, fourteen years afterwards, I went to Jerusalem," relate. That which best corresponds with the date, and that to which most interpreters apply the passage, is the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, when they went thither from Antioch, upon the business of the Gentile converts ; and which journey produced the famous council and decree recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Acts. To me this opinion appears to be encumbered with strong objections. In the epistle, Paul tells us that he "went up by revelation," chap. ii. 2. In the Acts, we read that he was sent by the church of Antioch : After no small dissension and disputation, "they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to the apostles and elders about this question," Acts xv. 2. This is not very reconcilable. In the epistle, St. Paul writes that, when he came to Jerusalem, "he communicated that gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation," chap. ii. 2. If by "that gospel" he meant the immunity of the Gentile Christians from the Jewish law, (and I know not what else it can mean,) it is not easy to conceive how he should communicate that privately, which was the object of his public message. But a yet greater difficulty remains, namely, that in the account which the epistle gives of what passed upon this visit at Jerusalem, no notice is taken of the deliberation and decree which are recorded in the Acts, and which, according to that history, formed the business for the sake of which the journey was undertaken. The mention of the council and of its determination, whilst the apostle was relating his proceedings at Jerusalem, could hardly have been avoided, if in truth the narrative belong to the same journey. To me it appears more probable that Paul and Barnabas had taken some journey to

Jerusalem, the mention of which is omitted in the Acts. Prior to the apostolic decree, we read that "Paul and Barnabas abode at Antioch a long time with the disciples," Acts xiv. 28. Is it unlikely, that during this long abode, they might go up to Jerusalem and return to Antioch? Or would the omission of such a journey be unsuitable to the general brevity with which these memoirs are written, especially of those parts of St. Paul's history which took place before the historian joined the society?

But, again, the first account we find in the Acts of the Apostles of St. Paul's visiting Galatia, is in the sixteenth chapter and the sixth verse: "Now when they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The progress here recorded was subsequent to the apostolic decree; therefore that decree must have been extant when our epistle was written. Now, as the professed design of the epistle was to establish the exemption of the Gentile converts from the law of Moses, and as the decree pronounced and confirmed that exemption, it may seem extraordinary that no notice whatever is taken of that determination, nor any appeal made to its authority. Much, however, of the weight of this objection, which applies also to some other of St. Paul's epistles, is removed by the following reflections.

1. It was not St. Paul's manner, nor agreeable to it, to resort or defer much to the authority of the other apostles, especially whilst he was insisting, as he does strenuously throughout this epistle insist, upon his own original inspiration. He who could speak of the very chiefest of the apostles in such terms as the following—"of those who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me, God accepteth no man's person,) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me"—he, I say, was not likely to support himself by their decision.

2. The epistle argues the point upon principle: and it is not perhaps more to be wondered at, that in such an argument St. Paul should not cite the apostolic decree, than it would be that in a discourse designed to prove the moral and religious duty of observing the sabbath, the writer should not quote the thirteenth canon.

3. The decree did not go the length of the position maintained in the epistle; the decree only declares that the apostles

and elders at Jerusalem did not impose the observance of the Mosaic law upon the Gentile converts, as a condition of their being admitted into the Christian church. Our epistle argues that the Mosaic institution itself was at an end, as to all effects upon a future state, even with respect to the Jews themselves.

4. They whose error St. Paul combated, were not persons who submitted to the Jewish law, because it was imposed by the authority, or because it was made part of the law of the Christian church; but they were persons who, having already become Christians, afterwards voluntarily took upon themselves the observance of the Mosaic code, under a notion of attaining thereby to a greater perfection. This, I think, is precisely the opinion which St. Paul opposes in this epistle. Many of his expressions apply exactly to it: "Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" chap. iii. 3. "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?" chap. iv. 21. "How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?" chap. iv. 9. It cannot be thought extraordinary that St. Paul should resist this opinion with earnestness; for it both changed the character of the Christian dispensation, and derogated expressly from the completeness of that redemption which Jesus Christ had wrought for them that believed in him. But it was to no purpose to allege to such persons the decision at Jerusalem; for that only showed that they were not bound to these observances by any law of the Christian church: they did not pretend to be so bound; nevertheless, they imagined that there was an efficacy in these observances, a merit, a recommendation to favour, and a ground of acceptance with God for those who complied with them. This was a situation of thought to which the tenor of the decree did not apply. Accordingly, St. Paul's address to the Galatians, which is throughout adapted to this situation, runs in a strain widely different from the language of the decree: "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law," chap. v. 4; that is, whosoever places his dependence upon any merit he may apprehend there to be in legal observances. The decree had said nothing like this; therefore it would have been useless to have produced the decree in an argument of which this was the burden. In like manner as

in contending with an anchorite, who should insist upon the superior holiness of a recluse, ascetic life, and the value of such mortifications in the sight of God, it would be to no purpose to prove that the laws of the church did not require these vows, or even to prove that the laws of the church expressly left every Christian to his liberty. This would avail little towards abating his estimation of their merit, or towards settling the point in controversy.*

Another difficulty arises from the account of Peter's conduct towards the Gentile converts at Antioch, as given in the epistle, in the latter part of the second chapter; which conduct, it is said, is consistent neither with the revelation communicated to him, upon the conversion of Cornelius, nor with the part he took in the debate at Jerusalem. But, in order to understand either the difficulty or the solution, it will be

* Mr. Locke's solution of this difficulty is by no means satisfactory. "St. Paul," he says, "did not remind the Galatians of the apostolic decree, because they already had it." In the first place, it does not appear with any certainty that they had it; in the second place, if they had it, this was rather a reason than otherwise for referring them to it. The passage in the Acts, from which Mr. Locke concludes that the Galatic churches were in possession of the decree, is the fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter: "And as they (Paul and Timothy) went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem." In my opinion, this delivery of the decree was confined to the churches to which St. Paul came, in pursuance of the plan upon which he set out, "of visiting the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord;" the history of which progress, and of all that pertained to it, is closed in the fifth verse, when the history informs us that "so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." Then the history proceeds upon a new section of the narrative, by telling us that "when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The decree itself is directed to "the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia;" that is, to churches already founded, and in which this question had been stirred. And I think the observation of the noble author of the *Miscellanea Sacra* is not only ingenious but highly probable, namely, that there is in this place a dislocation of the text, and that the fourth and fifth verses of the sixteenth chapter ought to follow the last verse of the fifteenth, so as to make the entire passage run thus: "And they went through Syria and Cilicia (to the Christians of which country the decree was addressed), confirming the churches; and as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem; and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." And then the sixteenth chapter takes up a new and unbroken paragraph: "Then came he to Derbe and Lystra," etc. When St. Paul came, as he did into Galatia, to preach the gospel, for the first time, in a new place, it is not probable that he would make mention of the decree, or rather letter, of the church of Jerusalem, which presupposed Christianity to be known, and which related to certain doubts that had arisen in some established Christian communities.

The second reason which Mr. Locke assigns for the omission of the decree, namely, "that St. Paul's sole object in the epistle was to acquit himself of the imputation that had been charged upon him of actually preaching circumcision," does not appear to me to be strictly true. It was not the sole object. The epistle is written in general opposition to the Judaizing inclination which he found to prevail among his converts. The avowal of his own doctrine, and of his steadfast adherence to that doctrine, formed a necessary part of the design of his letter, but was not the whole of it.

necessary to state and explain the passage itself. "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" Now the question that produced the dispute to which these words relate, was not whether the Gentiles were capable of being admitted into the Christian covenant; that had been fully settled: nor was it whether it should be accounted essential to the profession of Christianity that they should conform themselves to the law of Moses; that was the question at Jerusalem: but it was, whether, upon the Gentiles becoming Christians, the Jews might henceforth eat and drink with them, as with their own brethren. Upon this point St. Peter betrayed some inconstancy; and so he might, agreeably enough to his history. He might consider the vision at Joppa as a direction for the occasion, rather than as universally abolishing the distinction between Jew and Gentile; I do not mean with respect to final acceptance with God, but as to the manner of their living together in society: at least, he might not have comprehended this point with such clearness and certainty, as to stand out upon it against the fear of bringing upon himself the censure and complaint of his brethren in the church of Jerusalem, who still adhered to their ancient prejudices. But Peter, it is said, compelled the Gentiles *Ἰουδαίῃς*—"Why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" How did he do that? The only way in which Peter appears to have compelled the Gentiles to comply with the Jewish institution, was by withdrawing himself from their society. By which he may be understood to have made this declaration: "We do not deny your right to be considered as Christians; we do not deny your title in the promises of the gospel, even without compliance with our law: but if you would have us Jews live with you as we do with one another, that is, if you would in all respects be treated by us as Jews,

you must live as such yourselves." This, I think, was the compulsion which St. Peter's conduct imposed upon the Gentiles, and for which St. Paul reproved him.

As to the part which the historian ascribes to St. Peter in the debate at Jerusalem, beside that it was a different question which was there agitated from that which produced the dispute at Antioch, there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the dispute at Antioch was prior to the consultation at Jerusalem; or that Peter, in consequence of this rebuke, might have afterwards maintained firmer sentiments. (t)

CHAPTER VI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

No. 1.*

THIS epistle, and the Epistle to the Colossians, appear to have been transmitted to their respective churches by the same messenger: "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts," Ephes. vi. 21, 22. This text, if it do not expressly declare, clearly I think intimates, that the letter was sent by Tychicus. The words made use of by him in the Epistle to the Colossians are very similar to these, and afford the same implication that Tychicus, in conjunction with Onesimus, was the bearer of the letter to that church: "All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts; with Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother,

(t) See *Horn's* Apost. cap. 11. No. iv., where the sameness of the visit, in the book of Acts, and the Epistle, is placed, I conceive, on solid grounds of evidence. Among recent writers, Dr. Burton and Mr. Biley maintain their identity, while Mr. Browne (*Ordo Seclorum*), Mr. Greswell, in his *Dissertations*, and Canon Tate, in his *Continuous History of St. Paul*, suppose them to be distinct. These three writers, however, all disagree in their own hypothesis. The first identifies it with the journey in Acts xi., the second with the one in Acts xviii., and the third with a private journey, not mentioned by the historian, during the interval of Acts xiii. 28. The question is fundamental in the whole subject of the chronology of the book of Acts, besides its important bearing on the harmony of the epistle with the sacred history.—Ed.

who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things which are done here," Col. iv. 7-9. Both epistles represent the writer as under imprisonment for the gospel; and both treat of the same general subject. The Epistle therefore to the Ephesians, and the Epistle to the Colossians, import to be two letters written by the same person, at, or nearly at, the same time, and upon the same subject, and to have been sent by the same messenger. Now everything in the sentiments, order, and diction of the two writings, corresponds with what might be expected from this circumstance of identity or cognation in their original. The leading doctrine of both epistles is the union of Jews and Gentiles under the Christian dispensation; and that doctrine in both is established by the same arguments, or, more properly speaking, illustrated by the same similitudes.* "one head," "one body," "one new man," "one temple," are in both epistles the figures under which the society of believers in Christ, and their common relation to him as such, is represented.† The ancient, and, as had been thought, the indelible distinction between Jew and Gentile, in both epistles, is declared to be "now abolished by his cross." Beside this consent in the general tenor of the two epistles, and in the run also and warmth of thought with which they are composed, we may naturally expect, in letters produced under the circumstances in which these appear to have been written, a closer resemblance of style and diction, than between other letters of the same person but of distant dates, or between letters adapted to different occasions. In particular, we may look for many of the same expressions, and sometimes for whole sentences being alike; since such expressions and sentences would be repeated in the second letter, (whichever that was,) as yet fresh in the

* St. Paul, I am apt to believe, has been sometimes accused of inconclusive reasoning, by our mistaking that for reasoning which was only intended for illustration. He is not to be read as a man whose own persuasion of the truth of what he taught always or solely depended upon the views under which he represents it in his writings. Taking for granted the certainty of his doctrine, as resting upon the revelation that had been imparted to him, he exhibits it frequently to the conception of his readers under images and allegories, in which, if an analogy may be perceived, or even sometimes a poetic resemblance be found, it is all perhaps that is required.

† Compare	{	Ephes. i. 22	{	with	{	Colos. i. 18.
		iv. 15				ii. 19.
		ii. 15				iii. 10, 11.
Also	{	Ephes. ii. 14, 15	{	with	{	Colos. ii. 14.
		ii. 16				i. 18-21.
		ii. 20				ii. 7.

author's mind from the writing of the first. This repetition occurs in the following examples :*

Ephes. ch. i. 7. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins."†

Colos. ch. i. 14. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins."‡

Besides the sameness of the words, it is further remarkable that the sentence is, in both places, preceded by the same introductory idea. In the Epistle to the Ephesians it is the "*beloved*" (*ἡγαπημένῳ*); in that to the Colossians it is "*his dear Son*," (*υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ*), "in whom we have redemption." The sentence appears to have been suggested to the mind of the writer by the idea which had accompanied it before.

Ephes. ch. i. 10. "All things, both which are in heaven and which are on earth even in him."§

Colos. ch. i. 20. "All things by him, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven."||

This quotation is the more observable, because the connecting of things in earth with things in heaven is a very singular sentiment, and found nowhere else but in these two epistles. The words also are introduced by describing the union which Christ had effected, and they are followed by telling the Gentile churches that they were incorporated into it.

Ephes. ch. iii. 2. "The dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you ward."¶

Colos. ch. i. 25. "The dispensation of God, which is given to me for you."**

Of these sentences it may likewise be observed that the accompanying ideas are similar. In both places they are immediately preceded by the mention of his present sufferings; in both places they are immediately followed by the mention of the mystery which was the great subject of his preaching.

* When verbal comparisons are relied upon, it becomes necessary to state the original; but that the English reader may be interrupted as little as may be, I shall in general do this in the notes.

† Ephes. ch. i. 7. Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων.

‡ Colos. ch. i. 14. Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. However, it must be observed, that in this latter text many copies have not διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

§ Ephes. ch. i. 10. Τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν αὐτῷ.

|| Colos. ch. i. 20. Δι' αὐτοῦ, εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

¶ Ephes. ch. iii. 2. Τὴν οἰκονομίαν χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς.

** Colos. ch. i. 25. Τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν δοθείσαν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Ephes. ch. v. 19. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord."*

Colos. ch. iii. 16. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."†

Ephes. ch. vi. 22. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts."‡

Colos. ch. iv. 8. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts."§

In these examples, we do not perceive a cento of phrases gathered from one composition, and strung together in the other; but the occasional occurrence of the same expression to a mind a second time revolving the same ideas.

2. Whoever writes two letters, or two discourses, nearly upon the same subject, and at no great distance of time, but without any express recollection of what he had written before, will find himself repeating some sentences, in the very order of the words in which he had already used them; but he will more frequently find himself employing some principal terms, with the order inadvertently changed, or with the order disturbed by the intermixture of other words and phrases expressive of ideas rising up at the time; or in many instances repeating not single words, nor yet whole sentences, but parts and fragments of sentences. Of all these varieties the examination of our two epistles will furnish plain examples; and I should rely upon this class of instances more than upon the last; because, although an impostor might transcribe into a forgery entire sentences and phrases, yet the dislocation of words, the partial recollection of phrases and sentences, the intermixture of new terms and new ideas with terms and ideas before used, which will appear in the examples that follow, and which are the natural properties of writings produced under the circumstances in which these epistles are represented to have been composed—would not, I think, have

* Ephes. ch. v. 19. Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις, καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

† Colos. ch. iii. 16. Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

‡ Ephes. ch. vi. 22. Ὃν ἐπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

§ Colos. ch. iv. 8. Ὃν ἐπεμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

occurred to the invention of a forger; nor, if they had occurred, would they have been so easily executed. This studied variation was a refinement in forgery which I believe did not exist; or, if we can suppose it to have been practised in the instances adduced below, why, it may be asked, was not the same art exercised upon those which we have collected in the preceding class?

Ephes. ch. i. 19; chap. ii. 5. "Towards us who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead (and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. And hath put all things under his feet: and gave him to be the head over all things, to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him, that filleth all in all); and you hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins (wherein in times past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; among whom also we all had our conversation, in times past, in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewithal he loved us,) even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ."*

Colos. ch. ii. 12, 13. "Through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead: and you, being dead in your sins, and the uncircumcision of the flesh, hath he quickened together with him."†

Out of the long quotation from the Ephesians take away the parentheses, and you have left a sentence almost in terms the same as the short quotation from the Colossians. The resemblance is more visible in the original than in our translation; for what is rendered in one place, "the working," and in another the "operation," is the same Greek term *ἐνέργεια*:

* Ephes. ch. i. 19, 20; ii. 1, 5. Τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις—καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις—καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ.

† Colos. ch. ii. 12, 13. Διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Καὶ ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν, συνεζωοποίησε σὺν αὐτῷ.

in one place it is, τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ; in the other, διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας. Here, therefore, we have the same sentiment, and nearly in the same words ; but, in the Ephesians, twice broken or interrupted by incidental thoughts, which St. Paul, as his manner was, enlarges upon by the way,* and then returns to the thread of his discourse. It is interrupted the first time by a view which breaks in upon his mind of the exaltation of Christ ; and the second time by a description of heathen depravity. I have only to remark that Griesbach, in his very accurate edition, gives the parentheses very nearly in the same manner in which they are here placed ; and that without any respect to the comparison which we are proposing.

Ephes. ch. iv. 2-4. "With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love ; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling."†

Colos. ch. iii. 12-15. "Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another ; if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye ; and, above all these things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness ; and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body."‡

In these two quotations, the words ταπεινοφροσύνη, πραότης, μακροθυμία, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, occur exactly in the same order : ἀγάπη is also found in both, but in a different connexion ; σύνδεσμος τῆς εἰρήνης answers to σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος : ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τοῦ ἐν σῶμα καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι : yet is this similitude found in the midst of sentences otherwise very different.

Ephes. ch. iv. 16. "From whom the whole body fitly

* Vide Locke in loc.

† Ephes. ch. iv. 2-4. Μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ πραότητος, μετὰ μακροθυμίας, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ· σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης. Ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεύμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν.

‡ Colos. ch. iii. 12-15. Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἅγιοι καὶ ἠγαπημένοι, σπλάγχνα δικτιμῶν, χρηστότητα, ταπεινοφροσύνην, πραότητα, μακροθυμίαν· ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, καὶ χαρίζεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς, ἐάν τις πρὸς τινα ἔχῃ μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγαπάτο ὑμῖν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δε τοῦτοις τὴν ἀγάπην, ἥτις ἐστὶ σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος· καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ βραβεύειν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.

joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body.”*

Colos. ii. 19. “From which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.”†

In these quotations are read ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συμβιβάζομενον in both places, ἐπιχορηγούμενον answering to ἐπιχορηγίας, διὰ τῶν ὁφῶν το διὰ πάσης ὁφῆς, αὐξεῖ τὴν αὐξήσιν το ποιεῖται τὴν αὐξήσιν : and yet the sentences are considerably diversified in other parts.

Ephes. iv. 32. “And be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you.”‡

Colos. iii. 13. “Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any : even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.”§

Here we have “forgiving one another even as God, for Christ’s sake (ἐν Χριστῷ) hath forgiven you,” in the first quotation, substantially repeated in the second. But in the second the sentence is broken by the interposition of a new clause, “if any man have a quarrel against any;” and the latter part is a little varied; instead of “God in Christ,” it is “Christ hath forgiven you.”

Ephes. iv. 22—24. “That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.”||

Colos. iii. 9, 10. “Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.”¶

* Ephes. iv. 16. Ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβάζομενον διὰ πάσης ὁφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας κατ’ ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου μέρους τὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται.

† Colos. ii. 19. Ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ὁφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβάζομενον, αὐξεῖ τὴν αὐξήσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

‡ Ephes. iv. 32. Γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοὶ, εὐσπλαγχοι, χαρίζομενοι ἑαυτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἔχαρίσατο ὑμῖν.

§ Colos. iii. 13. Ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, καὶ χαρίζομενοι ἑαυτοῖς, ἕαν τις πρὸς τινα ἔχη μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς.

|| Ephes. iv. 22—24. Ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν, τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθειρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης· ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας.

¶ Colos. iii. 9, 10. Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν

In these quotations, "putting off the old man, and putting on the new," appears in both. The idea is further explained by calling it a renewal: in the one, "renewed in the spirit of your mind; in the other, "renewed in knowledge." In both, the new man is said to be formed according to the same model; in the one, he is, after God "created in righteousness and true holiness;" in the other, he is renewed "after the image of him that created him." In a word, it is the same person writing upon a kindred subject, with the terms and ideas which he had before employed still floating in his memory.*

Ephes. v. 6-8. "*Because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them. For ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light.*" †

Colos. iii. 6-8. "*For which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience: in the which ye also walked some time, when ye lived in them. But now ye also put off all these.*" ‡

These verses afford a specimen of that *partial* resemblance which is only to be met with when no imitation is designed, when no studied recollection is employed, but when the mind, exercised upon the same subject, is left to the spontaneous return of such terms and phrases as, having been used before, may happen to present themselves again. The sentiment of both passages is throughout alike: half of that sentiment, the denunciation of God's wrath, is expressed in identical words; the other half, namely, the admonition to quit their former conversation, in words entirely different.

Ephes. v. 15. 16. "See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time." §

αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον, τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπιγνώσκειν κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

* In these comparisons we often perceive the reason why the writer, though expressing the same idea, uses a different term; namely, because the term before used is employed in the sentence under a different form: thus, in the quotations under our eye, the new man is *καινὸς ἄνθρωπος* in the Ephesians, and *τὸν νέον* in the Colossians; but then it is because *τὸν καινὸν* is used in the next word, *ἀνακαινούμενον*.

† Ephes. v. 6-8. Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας. Μὴ οὖν γίνεσθε συμμέτοχοι αὐτῶν. Ἦτε γὰρ ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ· ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε.

‡ Colos. iii. 6-8. Δι' αὐτὰ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιπατήσατέ ποτε, ὅτε ἔζητε ἐν αὐτοῖς. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα.

§ Ephes. v. 15. 16. Βλέπετε οὖν πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε· μὴ ὡς ἄσσοι, ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί, ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν.

Colos. iv. 5. "Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time."*

This is another example of that mixture which we remarked of sameness and variety in the language of one writer. "Redeeming the time," (ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν,) is a literal repetition. "Walk not as fools, but as wise," (περιπατεῖτε μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι, ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί,) answers exactly in sense, and nearly in terms, to "walk in wisdom" (ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε). Περιπατεῖτε ἀκριβῶς is a very different phrase, but is intended to convey precisely the same idea as περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω. Ἀκριβῶς is not well rendered "circumspectly." It means what in modern speech we should call "correctly;" and when we advise a person to behave "correctly;" our advice is always given with a reference "to the opinion of others," πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω. "Walk correctly, redeeming the time," that is, suiting yourselves to the difficulty and ticklishness of the times in which we live, "because the days are evil."

Ephes. vi. 19, 20. "And (praying) for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds: that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak."†

Colos. iv. 3, 4. "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds: that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak."‡

In these quotations, the phrase "as I ought to speak," (ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι,) the words "utterance," (λόγος) a "mystery," (μυστήριον,) "open," (ἀνοίξῃ and ἐν ἀνοίξει,) are the same. "To make known the mystery of the gospel," (γινώρισαι τὸ μυστήριον,) answers to "make it manifest" (ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτὸ) "for which I am an ambassador in bonds," (ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει,) to "for which I am also in bonds" (δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι).

Ephes. v. 22—33, vi. 1—9. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the Head of the church: and

* Colos. iv. 5. Ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι.

† Ephes. vi. 19, 20. Καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα μοι δοθῇ λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στοματός μου ἐν παρόρσῃ, γινώρισαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ παρήγομαι, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι.

‡ Colos. iv. 3, 4. Προσευχόμενοι ἅμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, λαλῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι, ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτὸ, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι.

he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. *Husbands, love your wives*, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the church: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband.—*Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.* Honour thy father and mother, (which is the first commandment with promise,) that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. *And, ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath:* but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. *Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord whether he be bond or free.* And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: *knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.* *

† Colos. iii. 18. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your

* Ephes. v. 22. Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ.

† Colos. iii. 18. Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ᾧ ἦκεν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Ephes. v. 25. Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν.

Colos. iii. 19. Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας.

Ephes. vi. 1. Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον.

Colos. iii. 20. Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν κατὰ πάντα· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἐνάρρεστον τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ephes. vi. 4. Καὶ οἱ πατέρες, μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Colos. iii. 21. Οἱ πατέρες, μὴ ἐρεθίζετε* τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Ephes. vi. 5-8. Οἱ δούλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις κατὰ σάρκα μετὰ φόβον καὶ τρόμου, ἐν ἀπλόγητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ· μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλίαν, ὡς

* παροργίζετε, lectio non spernenda, GRIESEBACH.

own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Children, obey your parents in all things: for this is well pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven."

The passages marked by Italics in the quotation from the Ephesians, bear a strict resemblance, not only in signification but in terms, to the quotation from the Colossians. Both the words and the order of the words are in many clauses a duplicate of one another. In the Epistle to the Colossians, these passages are laid together; in that to the Ephesians, they are divided by intermediate matter, especially by a long digressive allusion to the mysterious union between Christ and his church; which possessing, as Mr. Locke hath well observed, the mind of the apostle, from being an incidental thought, grows up into the principal subject. The affinity between these two passages in signification, in terms, and in the order of the words, is closer than can be pointed out between any parts of any two epistles in the volume.

If the reader would see how the same subject is treated by a different hand, and how distinguishable it is from the production of the same pen, let him turn to the second and third chapters of the first Epistle of St. Peter. The duties of servants, of wives, and of husbands, are enlarged upon in that epistle, as they are in the Epistle to the Ephesians; but the subjects both occur in a different order, and the train of sentiment subjoined to each is totally unlike.

3. In two letters issuing from the same person, nearly at

ανθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς· μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες [ὡς] τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις· εἰδότες ὅτι ὃ ἐάν τι ἑκαστος ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομιεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, εἴτε δούλος, εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.

Colos. iii. 22. Οἱ δούλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις, ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ, φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν· καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι ἐὰν ποιήτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις· εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ Κυρίου ἀπολήψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας· τῷ γὰρ Κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε.

the same time, and upon the same general occasion, we may expect to trace the influence of association in the order in which the topics follow one another. Certain ideas universally or usually suggest others. Here the order is what we call natural, and from such an order nothing can be concluded. But when the order is arbitrary, yet alike, the concurrence indicates the effect of that principle, by which ideas, which have been once joined, commonly revisit the thoughts together. The epistles under consideration furnish the two following remarkable instances of this species of agreement:—

Ephes. iv. 24, 25. “And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another.”*

Colos. iii. 9. “Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge.”†

The vice of “lying,” or a correction of that vice, does not seem to bear any nearer relation to the “putting on the new man” than a reformation in any other article of morals. Yet these two ideas, we see, stand in both epistles in immediate connexion.

Ephes. v. 20, 21, 22. “Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.”‡

Colos. iii. 17, 18. “Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.”§

In both these passages, submission follows giving of thanks, without any similitude in the ideas which should account for the transition.

* Ephes. iv. 24, 25. Καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ᾀσώτῃ τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ ἀποθέμενον τὸ ψεῦδος, λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη.

† Colos. iii. 9, 10. Μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἑπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον, τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν.

‡ Ephes. v. 20, 21, 22. Εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ὑποτάσσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ. Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ.

§ Colos. iii. 17, 18. Καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἐν ποιῆτε, ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ. Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνήκει ἐν Κυρίῳ.

It is not necessary to pursue the comparison between the two epistles further. The argument which results from it stands thus. No two other epistles contain a circumstance which indicates that they were written at the same, or nearly at the same time. No two other epistles exhibit so many marks of correspondency and resemblance. If the original which we ascribe to these two epistles be the true one, that is, if they were both really written by St. Paul, and both sent to their respective destination by the same messenger, the similitude is in all points what should be expected to take place. If they were forgeries, then the mention of Tychicus in both epistles, and in a manner which shows that he either carried or accompanied both epistles, was inserted for the purpose of accounting for their similitude: or else the structure of the epistles was designedly adapted to the circumstance: or lastly, the conformity between the contents of the forgeries, and what is thus directly intimated concerning their date, was only a happy accident. Not one of these three suppositions will gain credit with a reader who peruses the epistles with attention, and who reviews the several examples we have pointed out, and the observations with which they were accompanied. (u)

No. II.

There is such a thing as a peculiar word or phrase cleaving, as it were to the memory of a writer or speaker, and presenting itself to his utterance at every turn. When we observe this, we call it a *cant* word or a *cant* phrase. It is a natural effect of habit: and would appear more frequently than it does, had not the rules of good writing taught the ear to be offended with the iteration of the same sound, and oftentimes caused us to reject, on that account, the word which offered itself first to our recollection. With a writer who, like St. Paul, either knew not these rules, or disregarded them, such

(u) The simple and striking proof of reality, which Paley has unfolded in this article, would lose all its force if the hypothesis of Professor Hug and Dr. Lardner were adopted, that the second Epistle to Timothy was interposed between these two letters to Ephesus and Colosse. But the view is most untenable; and it is surprising that Dr. Burton and the able writer of the *Literary History of the New Testament* have ventured to espouse it anew. Mr. Greswell, Mr. Biley, and Canon Tate fully abide by the view of the *Horse*, that the second to Timothy was the latest of St. Paul's letters. In *Horse* *Apost. caps. vi. and vii.* the opposite arguments are examined and disproved. No theory, indeed, could be more fatal to all reasoning from internal evidence, than one which interposes an epistle, so utterly diverse in tone, style, and character, between two others of such a peculiar and marked similarity.—Ed.

words will not be avoided. The truth is, an example of this kind runs through several of his epistles, and in the epistle before us *abounds*; and that is in the word *riches*, (πλούτος,) used metaphorically as an augmentative of the idea to which it happens to be subjoined. Thus; “the *riches* of his glory,” “his *riches* in glory,” “*riches* of the glory of his inheritance,” “*riches* of the glory of this mystery,” Rom. ix. 23, Ephes. iii. 16, Philip. iv. 19, Ephes. i. 18, Colos. i. 27: “*riches* of his grace,” twice in the Ephesians, i. 7, and ii. 7; “*riches* of the full assurance of understanding,” Colos. ii. 2; “*riches* of his goodness,” Rom. ii. 4; “*riches* of the wisdom and knowledge of God,” Rom. xi. 33; “*riches* of Christ,” Ephes. iii. 8. In a like sense, the adjective, Rom. x. 12, “*rich* unto all that call upon him;” Ephes. ii. 4, “*rich* in mercy;” 1 Tim. vi. 18, “*rich* in good works.” Also the adverb, Colos. iii. 16, “let the word of Christ dwell in you *richly*.” This figurative use of the word, though so familiar to St. Paul, does not occur in any part of the New Testament, except once in the Epistle of St. James, (ii. 5,) “Hath not God chosen the *poor* of this world, *rich* in faith?” where it is manifestly suggested by the antithesis. I propose the frequent, yet seemingly unaffected use of this phrase, in the epistle before us, as one internal mark of its genuineness.

No. III.

There is another singularity in St. Paul’s style, which, wherever it is found, may be deemed a badge of authenticity; because, if it were noticed, it would not, I think, be imitated, inasmuch as it almost always produces embarrassment and interruption in the reasoning. This singularity is a species of digression which may properly, I think, be denominated *going off at a word*. It is turning aside from the subject upon the occurrence of some particular word, forsaking the train of thought then in hand, and entering upon a parenthetical sentence in which that word is the prevailing term. I shall lay before the reader some examples of this, collected from the other epistles, and then propose two examples of it which are found in the Epistle to the Ephesians. In 2 Cor. ch. ii. 14–17, at the word *savour*: “Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the *savour* of his knowledge by us in every place. (For we are unto God a sweet *savour* of Christ, in them that are saved, and in

them that perish : to the one we are the *savour* of death unto death, and to the other the *savour* of life unto life. And who is sufficient for these things?) For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God : but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ." Again, 2 Cor. iii. 1-3, at the word *epistle* : "Need we, as some others, *epistles* of commendation to you, or of commendation from you? (Ye are our *epistle* written in our hearts, known and read of all men : forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the *epistle* of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God ; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart.)" The position of the words in the original, shows more strongly than in the translation, that it was the occurrence of the word ἐπιστολή which gave birth to the sentence that follows : 2 Cor. iii. 1. "Εἰ μὴ χρῆζομεν, ὥς τινες, συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν συστατικῶν ; ἡ ἐπιστολή ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, γνωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγνωσκομένη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· φανερούμενοι ὅτι ἐστὲ ἐπιστολή Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐγγεγραμμένη ὃν μέλανι, ἀλλὰ πνέματι Θεοῦ ζῶντος· οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις, ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίνοις.

Again, 2 Cor. iii. 12, etc., at the word *vail* : "Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech : and not as Moses, which put a *vail* over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished. But their minds were blinded ; for until this day remaineth the same *vail* untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament, which *vail* is done away in Christ ; but even unto this day, when Moses is read, the *vail* is upon their heart. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the *vail* shall be taken away. (Now the Lord is that Spirit ; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty). But we all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not."

Who sees not that this whole allegory of the *vail* arises entirely out of the occurrence of the word, in telling us that "Moses put a *vail* over his face," and that it drew the apostle away from the proper subject of his discourse, the dignity of the office in which he was engaged? which subject he fetches

up again almost in the words with which he had left it: "therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." The sentence which he had before been going on with, and in which he had been interrupted by the *vail*, was, "Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech."

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the reader will remark two instances in which the same habit of composition obtains: he will recognise the same pen. One he will find, chap. iv. 8-11, at the word *ascended*: "Wherefore he saith, When he *ascended* up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that he *ascended*, what is it but that he also descended first unto the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that *ascended* up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles," etc.

The other appears, chap. v. 12-15, at the word *light*: "For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret. But all things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the *light*: (for whatsoever doth make manifest is *light*. Wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee *light*.) See then that ye walk circumspectly."

No. IV.*

Although it does not appear to have ever been disputed that the epistle before us was written by St. Paul, yet it is well known that a doubt has long been entertained concerning the persons to whom it was addressed. The question is founded partly on some ambiguity in the external evidence. Marcion, a heretic of the second century, as quoted by Tertullian, a father in the beginning of the third, calls it the epistle to the Laodiceans. From what we know of Marcion, his judgment is little to be relied upon; nor is it perfectly clear that Marcion was rightly understood by Tertullian. If, however, Marcion be brought to prove that some copies in his time gave *εἰς Λαοδικεῖα* in the superscription, his testimony, if it be truly interpreted, is not diminished by his heresy; for, as Grotius observes, "*cur in eâ re mentiretur nihil erat causæ.*" The name *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, in the first verse, upon which word singly depends the proof that the epistle was written to the Ephesians, is not read in all the manuscripts now extant. I admit, however,

that the external evidence preponderates with a manifest excess on the side of the received reading. The objection, therefore, principally arises from the contents of the epistle itself, which, in many respects, militate with the supposition that it was written to the church at Ephesus. According to the history, St. Paul had passed two whole years at Ephesus, Acts, chap. xix. 10. And in this point, namely, of St. Paul having preached for a considerable length of time at Ephesus, the history is confirmed by the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and by the two Epistles to Timothy. "I will tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost," 1 Cor. xvi. 8. "We would not have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in *Asia*," 2 Cor. i. 8. "As I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, when I went into Macedonia," 1 Tim. i. 3. "And in how many things he ministered to me at *Ephesus*, thou knowest very well," 2 Tim. i. 18. I adduce these testimonies, because, had it been a competition of credit between the history and the epistle, I should have thought myself bound to have preferred the epistle. Now, every epistle which St. Paul wrote to churches which he himself had founded, or which he had visited, abounds with references, and appeals to what had passed during the time that he was present amongst them; whereas there is not a text, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, from which we can collect that he had ever been at Ephesus at all. The two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, are of this class; and they are full of allusions to the apostle's history, his reception, and his conduct whilst amongst them; the total want of which, in the epistle before us, is very difficult to account for, if it was in truth written to the church of Ephesus, in which city he had resided for so long a time. This is the first and strongest objection. But further, the Epistle to the Colossians was addressed to a church in which St. Paul had never been. This we infer from the first verse of the second chapter: "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." There could be no propriety in thus joining the Colossians and Laodiceans with those "who had not seen his face in the flesh," if they did not also belong to the same description.* Now, his address

* Dr. Lardner contends against the validity of this conclusion; but, I think without success. LARDNER, vol. xiv. p. 473, edit. 1757.

to the Colossians, whom he had not visited, is precisely the same as his address to the Christians, to whom he wrote in the epistle which we are now considering: "We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, *since we heard of your faith* in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints," Col. i. 3. Thus, he speaks to the Ephesians, in the epistle before us, as follows: "Wherefore I also, *after I heard of your faith* in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers," chap. i. 15. The terms of this address are observable. The words "having *heard of your faith and love*," are the very words, we see, which he uses towards strangers; and it is not probable that he should employ the same in accosting a church in which he had long exercised his ministry, and whose "faith and love" he must have personally known.* The Epistle to the Romans was written before St. Paul had been at Rome; and his address to them runs in the same strain with that just now quoted: "I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all, that your faith is *spoken* of throughout the whole world:" Rom. i. 8. Let us now see what was the form in which our apostle was accustomed to introduce his epistles, when he wrote to those with whom he was already acquainted. To the Corinthians it was this: "I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. i. 4. To the Philippians: "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you," Phil. i. 3. To the Thessalonians: "We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love," 1 Thess. i. 3. To Timothy: "I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers with pure conscience, that without ceasing I have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and day," 2 Tim. i. 3. In these quotations, it is usually his *remembrance*, and never his *hearing* of them, which he makes the subject of his thankfulness to God.

As great difficulties stand in the way of supposing the epistle

* Mr. Locke endeavours to avoid this difficulty, by explaining "*their faith*," of which St. Paul had heard," to mean the steadfastness of their persuasion that they were called into the kingdom of God, without subjection to the Mosaic institution. But this interpretation seems to me extremely *hard*; for in the manner in which faith is here joined with love, in the expression "your faith and love," it could not meant to denote any particular tenet which distinguished one set of Christians from others; forasmuch as the expression describes the general virtues of the Christian profession. Vide LOCKE in loc.

before us to have been written to the church of Ephesus, so I think it probable that it is actually the Epistle to the Laodiceans, referred to in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians. The text which contains that reference is this: "When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea," ver. 16. The "epistle from Laodicea," was an epistle sent by St. Paul to that church, and by them transmitted to Colosse. The two churches were mutually to communicate the epistles they had received. This is the way in which the direction is explained by the greater part of commentators, and is the most probable sense that can be given to it. It is also probable that the epistle alluded to was an epistle which had been received by the church of Laodicea *late*ly. It appears then, with a considerable degree of evidence, that there existed an epistle of St. Paul's nearly of the same date with the Epistle to the Colossians, and an epistle directed to a church (for such the church of Laodicea was) in which St. Paul had never been. What has been observed concerning the epistle before us, shows that it answers perfectly to that character.

Nor does the mistake seem very difficult to account for. Whoever inspects the map of Asia Minor will see, that a person proceeding from Rome to Laodicea would probably land at Ephesus, as the nearest frequented sea-port in that direction. Might not Tychicus then, in passing through Ephesus, communicate to the Christians of that place the letter with which he was charged? And might not copies of that letter be multiplied and preserved at Ephesus? Might not some of the copies drop the words of designation *ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ*,* which it was of no consequence to an Ephesian to retain? Might not copies of the letter come out into the Christian church at large from Ephesus; and might not this give occasion to a

* And it is remarkable that there seem to have been some ancient copies without the words of designation, either the words in *Ephesus*, or the words in *Laodicea*. St. Basil, a writer of the fourth century, speaking of the present epistle, has this very singular passage: "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him who is through knowledge, he (Paul) calleth them in a peculiar sense *such who are*; saying to the saints who are and (or even) the faithful in Christ Jesus; for so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies." Dr. Mill interprets (and, notwithstanding some objections that have been made to him, in my opinion rightly interprets) these words of Basil, as declaring that his father had seen certain copies of the epistle in which the words "in Ephesus" were wanting. And the passage, I think, must be considered as Basil's fanciful way of explaining what was really a corrupt and defective reading; for I do not believe it possible that the author of the epistle could have originally written *ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖν*, without any name of place to follow it.

belief that the letter was written to that church? And lastly, might not this belief produce the error which we suppose to have crept into the inscription? (v)

No. V.

As our epistle purports to have been written during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, which lies beyond the period to which the Acts of the Apostles brings up his history; and as we have seen and acknowledged that the epistle contains no reference to any transaction at Ephesus during the apostle's residence in that city, we cannot expect that it should supply many marks of agreement with the narrative. One coincidence however occurs, and a coincidence of that minute and less obvious kind, which, as hath been repeatedly observed, is of all others the most to be relied upon.

Chap. vi. 19, 20, we read, praying "for me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds." "*In bonds*," ἐν ἀλύσει, in a *chain*. In the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts we are informed that Paul, after his arrival at Rome, was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. Dr. Lardner has shown that this mode of custody was in use amongst the Romans, and that whenever it was adopted, the prisoner was bound to the soldier by a single chain: in reference to which St. Paul, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, tells the Jews, whom he had assembled, "For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you, and to speak with you, because that for the hope of Israel I am bound *with this chain*," τὴν ἀλυσιν ταύτην περικείμεαι. It is in exact conformity therefore with the truth of St. Paul's situation at the time, that he declares of himself in the epistle, πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει. And the exactness is the more remarkable, as ἀλυσις (a chain) is nowhere used in the singular number to express any other kind of custody. When the prisoner's hands or feet were bound together, the word was δεσμοί (bonds), as in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Acts, where Paul replies to Agrippa, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost,

(v) The subject is resumed in *Horræ Apost.* cap. vi. No. 1. Reasons are there given for adopting in preference the view of Archbishop Usher, received also by Michaelis, Canon Tate, Dr. Burton, and Olshausen, that the epistle was a circular letter to all the actual churches of Proconsular Asia, including the church of Laodicea, as well as Ephesus.—Ed.

and altogether such as I am, except *these bonds*," *παρεκτός τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων*. When the prisoner was confined between two soldiers, as in the case of Peter, Acts, chap. xii. 6, two chains were employed; and it is said upon his miraculous deliverance, that the "chains" (*ἀλύσεις*, in the plural) "fell from his hands." *Δεσμός* the noun, and *δέδεμαι* the verb, being general terms, were applicable to this in common with any other species of personal coercion; but *ἀλυσίς*, in the singular number, to none but this.

If it can be suspected that the writer of the present epistle, who in no other particular appears to have availed himself of the information concerning St. Paul, delivered in the Acts, had, in this verse borrowed the word which he read in that book, and had adapted his expression to what he found there recorded of St. Paul's treatment at Rome; in short, that the coincidence here noted was effected by craft and design; I think it a strong reply to remark that, in the parallel passage of the Epistle to the Colossians, the same allusion is not preserved: the words there are, "praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which *I am also in bonds*," *δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι*. After what has been shown in a preceding number, there can be little doubt but that these two epistles were written by the same person. If the writer, therefore, sought for, and fraudulently inserted, the correspondency into one epistle, why did he not do it in the other? A real prisoner might use either general words which comprehend this amongst many other modes of custody; or might use appropriate words which specified this, and distinguished it from any other mode. It would be accidental which form of expression he fell upon. But an impostor, who had the art, in one place, to employ the appropriate term for the purpose of fraud, would have used it in both places.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

No. I.

WHEN a transaction is referred to in such a manner as that the reference is easily and immediately understood by those

who are beforehand, or from other quarters, acquainted with the fact, but is obscure, or imperfect, or requires investigation, or a comparison of different parts, in order to be made clear to other readers, the transaction so referred to is probably real; because, had it been fictitious, the writer would have set forth his story more fully and plainly, not merely as conscious of the fiction, but as conscious that his readers could have no other knowledge of the subject of his allusion than from the information of which he put them in possession.

The account of Epaphroditus*, in the Epistle to the Philippians, of his journey to Rome, and of the business which brought him thither, is the article to which I mean to apply this observation. There are three passages in the epistle which relate to this subject. The first, chap. i. 7, "Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart; inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are *συγκοινωνοὶ μου τῆς χάριτος*, joint contributors to the gift which I have received."*(w) Nothing more is said in this place. In the latter part of the second chapter, and at the distance of half the epistle from the last quotation, the subject appears again; "Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, and *he that ministered to my wants*. For he longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick. For indeed he was sick nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. I sent him therefore the more carefully, that when ye see him again ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less sorrowful. Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness; and hold such in reputation: because for the work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life, *to supply your lack of service towards me*," chap. ii. 25-30. The matter is here

* Pearce, I believe, was the first commentator who gave this sense to the expression; and I believe also that his exposition is now generally assented to. He interprets in the same sense the phrase in the fifth verse, which our translation renders "your fellowship in the gospel"; but which in the original is not *κοινωνία τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, or *κοινωνία ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*; but *κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*.

(w) This is a very frigid exposition, and will not be accepted by those who have drunk largely of the spirit which pervades the apostle's writings. The clear sense is, that the Philippians had been sharers of that grace which the apostle himself had received from God, to suffer imprisonment, and be exposed to contumely, in maintaining the cause of the gospel. Their work of love toward himself would probably be included in the apostle's thoughts, but it is most unnatural to restrict the words to so limited a meaning.—Ed.

dropped, and no further mention made of it till it is taken up near the conclusion of the epistle as follows: "But I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity. Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding ye have well done, that ye did communicate with my affliction. Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity. Not because I desire a gift: but I desire fruit that may abound to your account. But I have all, and abound: I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you," chap. iv. 10-18. To the Philippian reader, who knew that contributions were wont to be made in that church for the apostle's subsistence and relief, that the supply which they were accustomed to send to him had been delayed by the want of opportunity, that Epaphroditus had undertaken the charge of conveying their liberality to the hands of the apostle, that he had acquitted himself of this commission at the peril of his life, by hastening to Rome under the oppression of a grievous sickness: to a reader who knew all this beforehand, every line in the above quotations would be plain and clear. But how is it with a stranger? The knowledge of these several particulars is necessary to the perception and explanation of the references; yet that knowledge must be gathered from a comparison of passages lying at a great distance from one another. Texts must be interpreted by texts long subsequent to them, which necessarily produces embarrassment and suspense. The passage quoted from the beginning of the epistle contains an acknowledgment, on the part of the apostle, of the liberality which the Philippians had exercised towards him; but the allusion is so general and indeterminate, that, had nothing more been said in the sequel of the epistle, it would hardly have been applied to this occasion at all. In the second quotation, Epaphroditus is declared to have "ministered to the

apostle's wants," and "to have supplied their lack of service towards him;" but *how*, that is, at whose expense, or from what fund he "ministered," or what was "the lack of service" which he supplied, are left very much unexplained, till we arrive at the third quotation, where we find that Epaphroditus "ministered to St. Paul's wants," only by conveying to his hands the contributions of the Philippians: "I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you:" and that "the lack of service which he supplied" was a delay or interruption of their accustomed bounty, occasioned by the want of opportunity: "I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity." The affair at length comes out clear; but it comes out by piecemeal. The clearness is the result of the reciprocal illustration of divided texts. Should any one choose therefore to insinuate, that this whole story of Epaphroditus, or his journey, his errand, his sickness, or even his existence, might, for what we know, have no other foundation than in the invention of the forger of the epistle; I answer, that a forger would have set forth this story connectedly, and also more fully and more perspicuously. If the epistle be authentic, and the transaction real, then everything which is said concerning Epaphroditus and his commission would be clear to those into whose hands the epistle was expected to come. Considering the Philippians as his readers, a person might naturally write upon the subject, as the author of the epistle has written; but there is no supposition of forgery with which it will suit.

No. II.

The history of Epaphroditus supplies another observation: "Indeed he was sick, nigh unto death; but God had mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow." In this passage, no intimation is given that Epaphroditus's recovery was miraculous. It is plainly, I think, spoken of as a natural event. This instance, together with one in the second Epistle to Timothy, ("Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick,") affords a proof that the power of performing cures, and, by parity of reason, of working other miracles, was a power which only visited the apostles occasionally, and did not at all depend upon their own will. Paul undoubtedly would have healed Epaphroditus if

he could. Nor, if the power of working cures had awaited his disposal, would he have left his fellow-traveller at Miletus sick. This, I think, is a fair observation upon the instances adduced; but it is not the observation I am concerned to make. It is more for the purpose of my argument to remark, that forgery, upon such an occasion, would not have spared a miracle; much less would it have introduced St. Paul professing the utmost anxiety for the safety of his friend, yet acknowledging himself unable to help him; which he does, almost expressly, in the case of Trophimus, for he "left him sick;" and virtually in the passage before us, in which he felicitates himself upon the recovery of Epaphroditus, in terms which almost exclude the supposition of any supernatural means being employed to effect it. This is a reserve which nothing but truth would have imposed.

No. III.

Chap. iv. 15, 16. "Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity."

It will be necessary to state the Greek of this passage, because our translation does not, I think, give the sense of it accurately.

"Οἰδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππηῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἐναγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησίαν ἐκοινωνήσεν, εἰς λόγον δόσεως, καὶ λήψεως, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι· ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονικῇ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρειάν μοι ἐπέψατε.

The reader will please to direct his attention to the corresponding particulars *ὅτι* and *ὅτι καὶ*, which connect the words *ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἐναγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας*, with the words *ἐν Θεσσαλονικῇ*, and denote, as I interpret the passage, two distinct donations, or rather donations at two distinct periods, one at Thessalonica, *ἅπαξ καὶ δις*, the other after his departure from Macedonia, *ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας*.* I

* Luke ii. 15. Καὶ ἔγένετο, ὡς ἀπῆλθον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι, "as the angels were gone away," that is, after their departure, οἱ ποιμένες εἰπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Matt. ch. xii. 43. "Ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "when the unclean spirit is gone," that is, after his departure, διαίρεται. John xiii. 30. "Ὅτε ἐξῆλθε (Ἰούδας), "when he was gone," that is, after his departure, λέγει Ἰησοῦς. Acts x. 7. ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Κορνηλίῳ, "and when the angel which spake unto him was departed," that is, after his departure, φωνήσας τοὺς πάντας ἐκεῖνους, &c.

would render the passage so as to mark these different periods, thus: "Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I was departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. And that also in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity." Now with this exposition of the passage compare 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9: "I robbed other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service. And when I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man; for that which was lacking to me the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied."

It appears from St. Paul's history, as related in the Acts of the Apostles, that upon leaving Macedonia, he passed, after a very short stay at Athens, into Achaia. It appears, secondly, from the quotation out of the Epistle to the Corinthians, that in Achaia he accepted no pecuniary assistance from the converts of that country; but that he drew a supply for his wants from the Macedonian Christians. Agreeably whereunto it appears, in the third place, from the text which is the subject of the present number, that the brethren in Philippi, a city of Macedonia, had followed him with their munificence, *ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας*, when he was departed from Macedonia, that is, when he was *come into Achaia*.

The passage under consideration affords another circumstance of agreement deserving of our notice. The gift alluded to in the Epistle to the Philippians is stated to have been made "in the beginning of the gospel." This phrase is most naturally explained to signify the first preaching of the gospel in these parts; namely, on that side of the Ægean Sea. The succours referred to in the Epistle to the Corinthians, as received from Macedonia, are stated to have been received by him upon his first visit to the peninsula of Greece. The dates therefore assigned to the donation in the two epistles agree; yet is the date in one ascertained very incidentally, namely, by the considerations which fix the date of the epistle itself; and in the other, by an expression ("the beginning of the gospel") much too general to have been used if the text had been penned with any view to the correspondency we are remarking.

Further, the phrase, "in the *beginning* of the gospel," raises an idea in the reader's mind that the gospel had been preached there more than once. The writer would hardly have called

the visit to which he refers the "beginning of the gospel," if he had not also visited them in some other stage of it. The fact corresponds with this idea. If we consult the sixteenth and twentieth chapters of the Acts, we shall find, that St. Paul, before his imprisonment at Rome, during which this epistle purports to have been written, had been *twice* in Macedonia, and each time at Philippi.

No. IV.

That Timothy had been long with St. Paul at Philippi is a fact which seems to be implied in this epistle twice. First, he joins in the salutation with which the epistle opens: "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi." Secondly, and more directly, the point is inferred from what is said concerning him, chap. ii. 19: "But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort when I know your state. For I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state. For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's. But *ye know the proof of him*, that, as a son with the father, he hath served with me in the gospel." Had Timothy's presence with St. Paul at Philippi, when he preached the gospel there, been expressly remarked in the Acts of the Apostles, this quotation might be thought to contain a contrived adaptation to the history; although, even in that case, the averment, or rather the allusion in the epistle, is too oblique to afford much room for such suspicion. But the truth is, that in the history of St. Paul's transactions at Philippi, which occupies the greatest part of the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, no mention is made of Timothy at all. What appears concerning Timothy in the history, so far as relates to the present subject, is this: When Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, "behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus. . . . Him would Paul have to go forth with him." The narrative then proceeds with the account of St. Paul's progress through various provinces of the Lesser Asia, till it brings him down to Troas. At Troas he was warned in a vision to pass over into Macedonia. In obedience to which he crossed the Ægean Sea to Samothracia, the next day to Neapolis, and from thence to Philippi. His preaching, miracles, and persecutions at Philippi, followed next: after which Paul and his company, when they had passed through Amphipolis

and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, and from Thessalonica to Berea. From Berea the brethren sent away Paul; "but Silas and *Timotheus* abode their still." The itinerary, of which the above is an abstract, is undoubtedly sufficient to support an inference that Timothy was along with St. Paul at Philippi. We find them setting out together upon this progress from Derbe, in Lycaonia; we find them together near the conclusion of it, at Berea, in Macedonia. It is highly probable, therefore, that they came together to Philippi, through which their route between these two places lay. If this be thought probable, it is sufficient. For what I wish to be observed is, that in comparing, upon this subject, the epistle with the history, we do not find a recital in one place of what is related in another; but that we find, what is much more to be relied upon, an oblique allusion to an implied fact.

No. V.

Our epistle purports to have been written near the conclusion of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and after a residence in that city of considerable duration. These circumstances are made out by different intimations, and the intimations upon the subject preserve among themselves a just consistency, and a consistency certainly unmeditated. First, the apostle had already been a prisoner at Rome so long, as that the reputation of his bonds, and of his constancy under them, had contributed to advance the success of the gospel: "But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." Secondly, the account given of Epaphroditus imports, that St. Paul, when he wrote the epistle, had been in Rome a considerable time: "He longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick." Epaphroditus was with St. Paul at Rome. He had been sick. The Philippians had heard of his sickness, and he again had received an account how much they had been affected by the intelligence. The passing and repassing of these advices must necessarily have occupied a long portion of time, and must have all taken place during St. Paul's residence at Rome. Thirdly, after a residence

at Rome thus proved to have been of considerable duration, he now regards decision of his fate as nigh at hand. He contemplates either alternative, that of his deliverance. ch. ii. 23, "Him, therefore, (Timothy,) I hope to send *presently*, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me; but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly:" that of his condemnation, ver. 17, "Yea, and if I be offered* upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all." This consistency is material, if the consideration of it be confined to the epistle. It is further material, as it agrees, with respect to the duration of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, with the account delivered in the Acts, which, having brought the apostle to Rome, closes the history by telling us "that he dwelt there *two whole years* in his own hired house."

No. VI.

Chap. i. 23. "For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better."

With this compare 2 Cor. v. 8: "We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord."

The sameness of sentiment in these two quotations is obvious. I rely, however, not so much upon that, as upon the similitude in the train of thought which in each epistle leads up to this sentiment, and upon the suitableness of that train of thought to the circumstances under which the epistles purport to have been written. This, I conceive, bespeaks the production of the same mind, and of a mind operating upon real circumstances. The sentiment is in both places preceded by the contemplation of imminent personal danger. To the Philippians he writes, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, "According to my earnest expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, *so now also* Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life, or by death." To the Corinthians, "Troubled on every side, yet not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus." This train of reflection is continued to the place from whence the words which we compare are taken.

* Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, if my blood be poured out as a libation upon the sacrifice of your faith.

The two epistles, though written at different times, from different places, and to different churches, were both written under circumstances which would naturally recall to the author's mind the precarious condition of his life, and the perils which constantly awaited him. When the Epistle to the Philippians was written, the author was a prisoner at Rome, expecting his trial. When the second Epistle to the Corinthians was written, he had lately escaped a danger in which he had given himself over for lost. The epistle opens with a recollection of this subject, and the impression accompanied the writer's thoughts throughout.

I know that nothing is easier than to transplant into a forged epistle a sentiment or expression which is found in a true one ; or, supposing both epistles to be forged by the same hand, to insert the same sentiment or expression in both ; but the difficulty is, to introduce it in just and close connexion with a train of thought going before, and with a train of thought apparently generated by the circumstances under which the epistle is written. In two epistles, purporting to be written on different occasions, and in different periods of the author's history, this propriety would not easily be managed.

No. VII.

Chap. i. 29, 30 ; ii. 1, 2. "For unto you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake ; having the same conflict which *ye saw in me*, and now hear to be in me. If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies ; fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind."

With this compare Acts xvi. 22 : "And the multitude (at Philippi) rose up against them (Paul and Silas) ; and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely : who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks."

The passage in the epistle is very remarkable. I know not an example in any writing of a juster pathos, or which more truly represents the workings of a warm and affectionate

mind, than what is exhibited in the quotation before us*. The apostle reminds the Philippians of their being joined with himself in the endurance of persecution for the sake of Christ. He conjures them by the ties of their common profession and their common sufferings, to "fulfil his joy;" to complete, by the unity of their faith, and by their mutual love, that joy with which the instances he had received of their zeal and attachment had inspired his breast. Now if this was the real effusion of St. Paul's mind, of which it bears the strongest internal character, then we have in the words "the same conflict which ye saw in me," an authentic confirmation of so much of the apostle's history in the Acts, as relates to his transactions at Philippi; and, through that, of the intelligence and general fidelity of the historian.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

No. I.

THERE is a circumstance of conformity between St. Paul's history and his letters, especially those which were written during his first imprisonment at Rome, and more especially the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, which being too close to be accounted for from accident, yet too indirect and latent to be imputed to design, cannot easily be resolved into any other original than truth: which circumstance is this, that St. Paul in these epistles attributes his imprisonment, not to his preaching of Christianity, but to his asserting the right of the Gentiles to be admitted into it without conforming themselves to the Jewish law. This was the doctrine to which he considered himself as a martyr. Thus, in the epistle before us, chap. i. 24. (I Paul) "who now rejoice in my sufferings for you"—"*for you*," that is, for those whom he had never seen; for a few verses afterwards he adds, "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." His suffering therefore for *them* was, in their general capacity of Gentile Christians, agreeably to what he explicitly

* The original is very spirited: "Εἰ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ, εἰ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἰ τις κοινωνία Πνεύματος, εἰ τινα σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, πληρώσατέ μου τὴν χαρὰν.

declares in his Epistle to the Ephesians, iii. 1: "For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ *for you Gentiles.*" Again in the epistle now under consideration, iv. 3: "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the *mystery* of Christ, for which I am also in bonds." What that "*mystery of Christ*" was, the Epistle to the Ephesians distinctly informs us: "Whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the *mystery of Christ*, which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, *that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel.*" This, therefore, was the *confession* for which he declares himself to be in bonds. Now let us inquire how the occasion of St. Paul's imprisonment is represented in the history. The apostle had not long returned to Jerusalem from his second visit into Greece, when an uproar was excited in that city by the clamour of certain Asiatic Jews, who, "having seen Paul in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him." The charge advanced against him was, that "he taught all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place; and, further brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place." The former part of the charge seems to point at the doctrine, which he maintained, of the admission of the Gentiles, under the new dispensation, to an indiscriminate participation of God's favour with the Jews. But what follows makes the matter clear. When, by the interference of the chief captain, Paul had been rescued out of the hands of the populace, and was permitted to address the multitude who had followed him to the stairs of the castle, he delivered a brief account of his birth, of the early course of his life, of his miraculous conversion; and is proceeding in this narrative, until he comes to describe a vision which was presented to him, as he was praying in the temple; and which bid him depart out of Jerusalem; "for I will send thee far hence *unto the Gentiles,*" Acts xxii. 21. "They gave him audience," says the historian, "*unto this word,* and then lifted up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth!" Nothing can show more strongly than this account does, what was the offence which drew down upon St. Paul the vengeance of his countrymen. His mission to the Gentiles, and his open avowal of that mission,

was the intolerable part of the apostle's crime. But although the real motive of the prosecution appears to have been the apostle's conduct towards the Gentiles ; yet when his accusers came before a Roman magistrate, a charge was to be framed of a more legal form. The profanation of the temple was the article they chose to rely upon. This, therefore, became the immediate subject of Tertullus's oration before Felix, and of Paul's defence. But that he all along considered his ministry amongst the Gentiles as the actual source of the enmity that had been exercised against him, and in particular, as the cause of the insurrection in which his person had been seized, is apparent from the conclusion of his discourse before Agrippa ; "I have appeared unto thee," says he, describing what passed upon his journey to Damascus, "for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee ; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision ; but showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judæa, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. *For these causes* the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me." The seizing, therefore, of St. Paul's person, from which he was never discharged till his final liberation at Rome, and of which, therefore, his imprisonment at Rome was the continuation and effect, was not in consequence of any general persecution set on foot against Christianity ; nor did it befall him simply as professing or teaching Christ's religion, which James and the elders at Jerusalem did as well as he (and yet, for anything that appears, remained at that time unmolested) ; but it was distinctly and specifically brought upon him by his activity in preaching to the Gentiles, and by his placing them upon a level with the once favoured and still self-flattered posterity of Abraham. How well St. Paul's letters, purporting to be written during this imprisonment agree with this account of its cause and origin we have already seen.

No. II.*

Chap. iv. 10. "Aristarchus my fellow prisoner saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, (touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him;) and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision."

We find Aristarchus as a companion of our apostle in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts and the twenty-ninth verse: "And the whole city (of Ephesus) was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and *Aristarchus*, men of Macedonia, *Paul's companions in travel*, they rushed with one accord into the theatre." And we find him upon his journey with St. Paul to Rome, in the twenty-seventh chapter and the second verse: "And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus's band. And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; one *Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.*" But might not the author of the epistle have consulted the history; and, observing that the historian had brought Aristarchus along with Paul to Rome, might he not for that reason, and without any other foundation, have put down his name amongst the salutations of an epistle purporting to be written by the apostle from that place? I allow so much of possibility to this objection, that I should not have proposed this in the number of coincidences clearly undesigned, had Aristarchus stood alone. The observation that strikes me in reading the passage is, that together with Aristarchus, whose journey to Rome we trace in the history, are joined Marcus and Justus, of whose coming to Rome the history says nothing. Aristarchus alone appears in the history, and Aristarchus alone would have appeared in the epistle, if the author had regulated himself by that conformity. Or if you take it the other way; if you suppose the history to have been made out of the epistle, why the journey of Aristarchus to Rome should be recorded, and not that of Marcus and Justus, if the groundwork of the narrative was the appearance of Aristarchus's name in the epistle, seems to be unaccountable.

"Marcus, *sister's son to Barnabas.*" Does not this hint account for Barnabas's adherence to Mark in the contest that arose with our apostle concerning him? "And some days

after Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And *Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark.* But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other : and so Barnabas took Mark and sailed unto Cyprus." The history, which records the dispute, has not preserved the circumstance of Mark's relationship to Barnabas. It is nowhere noticed but in the text before us. As far, therefore, as it applies, the application is certainly undesigned.

"*Sister's son to Barnabas.*" This woman, the mother of Mark, and the sister of Barnabas, was, as might be expected, a person of some eminence amongst the Christians of Jerusalem. It so happens that we hear of her in the history. When Peter was delivered from prison, "he came to the house of *Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark* ; where many were gathered together praying," Acts xii. 12. There is somewhat of coincidence in this—somewhat bespeaking real transactions amongst real persons. (x)

No. III.

The following coincidence, though it bear the appearance of great nicety and refinement, ought not, perhaps, to be deemed imaginary. In the salutations with which this, like most of St. Paul's epistles, concludes, we have "*Aristarchus and Marcus, and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision,*" iv. 10, 11. Then follow also, "*Epaphras, Luke the beloved physician, and Demas.*" Now, as this description, "*who are of the circumcision,*" is added after the first three names, it is inferred, not without great appearance of probability, that the rest, amongst whom is Luke, were not of the circumcision. Now can we discover any expression in the Acts of the Apostles which ascertains whether the author of the book was a Jew or not? If we can discover that he was not a Jew, we fix a circumstance in his character which coincides with what is here, indirectly indeed, but not very uncertainly, intimated concerning Luke : and we so far confirm

(x) In *Hornæ Apost. cap. vi. No. III. and Book II. No. II.* are some further remarks on this passage, which illustrate the general argument.—ED.

both the testimony of the primitive church, that the Acts of the Apostles was written by St. Luke, and the general reality of the persons and circumstances brought together in this epistle. The text in the Acts, which has been construed to show that the writer was not a Jew, is the nineteenth verse of the first chapter, where, in describing the field which had been purchased with the reward of Judas's iniquity, it is said, "that it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in *their* proper tongue, *Aceldama*, that is to say, The field of blood." These words are by most commentators taken to be the words and observation of the historian, and not a part of St. Peter's speech, in the midst of which they are found. If this be admitted, then it is argued that the expression, "in *their* proper tongue," would not have been used by a Jew, but is suitable to the pen of a Gentile writing concerning Jews.* The reader will judge of the probability of this conclusion, and we urge the coincidence no further than the probability extends. The coincidence, if it be one, is so remote from all possibility of design, that nothing need be added to satisfy the reader upon that part of the argument. (y)

NO. IV.

Chap. iv. 9. "With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, *who is one of you.*"

Observe how it may be made out that Onesimus was a Colossian. Turn to the Epistle to Philemon, and you will find that Onesimus was the servant or slave of Philemon. The question, therefore, will be, to what city Philemon belonged? In the epistle addressed to him this is not declared. It appears only that he was of the same place, whatever that place was, with an eminent Christian named Archippus. "Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved, and fellow-

* Vide Benson's Dissertation, vol. i. p. 318 of his Works, ed. 1756.

(y) That St. Luke was a Gentile proselyte, and not a Jew, may be fairly inferred from the passage at the head of this article. But the other premise is more questionable, how far the words in Acts i. 19 can prove that the writer was not a Jew by birth. What it really proves is that either St. Peter himself, or the historian, had a dialect not the same with the Jews of Jerusalem. But this was true, in the strict sense, even of the Galilean Jews (Mat. xxvi. 73), of whom Peter was one, and still more clearly of the Jews of the dispersion, of whom so many dialects are enumerated in the very next chapter. Perhaps a clearer proof that the writer was a Greek or Gentile may be drawn from the use of the word, *Barbarian*, in the last chapter; but the evidence of the fact in the narrative is hardly enough to constitute a real coincidence.—ED.

labourer; and to our beloved Apphia, and *Archippus* our fellowsoldier, and to the church in thy house." Now turn back to the Epistle to the Colossians, and you will find *Archippus* saluted by name amongst the Christians of that church. "Say to *Archippus*, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it." (iv. 17.) The necessary result is, that *Onesimus* also was of the same city, agreeably to what is said of him, "he is one of you." And this result is either the effect of truth, which produces consistency without the writer's thought or care, or of a contexture of forgeries confirming and falling in with one another by a species of fortuity of which I know no example. The supposition of design, I think, is excluded, not only because the purpose to which the design must have been directed, namely, the verification of the passage in our epistle, in which it is said concerning *Onesimus*, "he is one of you," is a purpose, which would be lost upon ninety-nine readers out of a hundred; but because the means made use of are too circuitous to have been the subject of affectation and contrivance. Would a forger, who had this purpose in view, have left his readers to hunt it out, by going forward and backward from one epistle to another, in order to connect *Onesimus* with *Philemon*, *Philemon* with *Archippus*, and *Archippus* with *Colosse*? all which he must do before he arrives at his discovery, that it was truly said of *Onesimus*, "he is one of you."

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

It is known to every reader of Scripture that the first Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the coming of Christ in terms which indicate an expectation of his speedy appearance: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that *we* which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then *we which are alive and remain* shall be

caught up together with them in the clouds—But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief," ch. iv. 15, 16, 17 ; v. 4.

Whatever other construction these texts may *bear*, the idea they leave upon the mind of an ordinary reader, is that of the author of the epistle looking for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it. Now the use which I make of this circumstance is, to deduce from it a proof that the epistle itself was not the production of a subsequent age. Would an impostor have given this expectation to St. Paul, after experience had proved it to be erroneous? or would he have put into the apostle's mouth, or, which is the same thing, into writings purporting to come from his hand, expressions, if not necessarily conveying, at least easily interpreted to convey, an opinion which was then known to be founded in mistake? I state this as an argument to show that the epistle was contemporary with St. Paul, which is little less than to show that it actually proceeded from his pen. For I question whether any ancient forgeries were executed in the lifetime of the person whose name they bear; nor was the primitive situation of the church likely to give birth to such an attempt.

No. II.

Our epistle concludes with a direction that it should be publicly read in the church to which it was addressed: "I charge you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren." The existence of this clause in the body of the epistle is an evidence of its authenticity; because to produce a letter purporting to have been publicly read in the church of Thessalonica, when no such letter in truth had been read or heard of in that church, would be to produce an imposture destructive of itself. At least, it seems unlikely that the author of an imposture would voluntarily and even officiously, afford a handle to so plain an objection. Either the epistle was publicly read in the church of Thessalonica during St. Paul's life-time, or it was not. If it was, no publication could be more authentic, no species of notoriety more unquestionable, no method of preserving the integrity of the copy more secure. If it was not, the clause we produce would remain a standing condemnation of the forgery, and one would suppose, an invincible impediment to its success.

If we connect this article with the preceding, we shall perceive that they combine into one strong proof of the genuineness of the epistle. The preceding article carries up the date of the epistle to the time of St. Paul; the present article fixes the publication of it to the church of Thessalonica. Either therefore the church of Thessalonica was imposed upon by a false epistle, which in St. Paul's life-time they received and read publicly as his, carrying on a communication with him all the while, and the epistle referring to the continuance of that communication; or other Christian churches, in the same life-time of the apostle, received an epistle purporting to have been publicly read in the church of Thessalonica, which nevertheless had not been heard of in that church; or lastly, the conclusion remains, that the epistle now in our hands is genuine.

No. III.

Between our epistle and the history the accordancy in many points is circumstantial and complete. The history relates that, after Paul and Silas had been beaten with many stripes at Philippi, shut up in the inner prison, and their feet made fast in the stocks, as soon as they were discharged from their confinement they departed from thence, and, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, where Paul opened and alleged that Jesus was the Christ; Acts xvi., xvii. The epistle written in the name of Paul and Silvanus (Silas), and of Timotheus, who also appears to have been along with them at Philippi, (vide Phil. No. IV.,) speaks to the church of Thessalonica thus: "Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention," ch. ii. 2.

The history relates, that after they had been some time at Thessalonica, "the Jews which believed not set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason where Paul and Silas were, and sought to bring them out to the people," Acts xvii. 5. The epistle declares, "when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation; even as it came to pass, and ye know," ch. iii. 4.

The history brings Paul and Silas and Timothy together at Corinth, soon after the preaching of the gospel at Thessa-

lonica :—" And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, (to Corinth,) Paul was pressed in spirit," Acts xviii. 5. The epistle is written in the name of these three persons, who consequently must have been together at the time, and speaks throughout of their ministry at Thessalonica as a recent transaction: " We, brethren, *being taken from you for a short time* ; in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire," ch. ii. 17.

The harmony is indubitable ; but the points of history in which it consists are so expressly set forth in the narrative, and so directly referred to in the epistle, that it becomes necessary for us to show that the facts in one writing were not copied from the other. Now amidst some minuter discrepancies, which will be noticed below, there is one circumstance which mixes itself with all the allusions in the epistle, but does not appear in the history anywhere ; and that is of a visit which St. Paul had intended to pay to the Thessalonians during the time of his residing at Corinth : " Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once and again ; but Satan hindered us," ch. ii. 18. " Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith. Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you," ch. iii. 10, 11. Concerning a design which was not executed, although the person himself, who was conscious of his own purpose, should make mention in his letters, nothing is more probable than that his historian should be silent, if not ignorant. The author of the epistle could not, however, have learned this circumstance from the history, for it is not there to be met with ; nor, if the historian had drawn his materials from the epistle, is it likely that he would have passed over a circumstance which is amongst the most obvious and prominent of the facts to be collected from that source of information.

No. IV.

Chap. iii. 1, 6, 7. " Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good *to be left at Athens alone* ; and sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith. But now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good

tidings of your faith and charity, . . . we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith."

The history relates, that when Paul came out of Macedonia to Athens, Silas and Timothy stayed behind at Berea. "The brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea; but Silas and Timotheus abode there still. And they that conducted Paul brought him unto Athens," Acts xvii. 14, 15. The history further relates, that after Paul had tarried some time at Athens, and had proceeded from thence to Corinth, whilst he was exercising his ministry in that city, Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia, Acts xviii. 5. But to reconcile the history with the clause in the epistle, which makes St. Paul say, "I thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and to send Timothy unto you," it is necessary to suppose that Timothy had come up with St. Paul at Athens—a circumstance which the history does not mention. I remark therefore, that, although the history does not expressly notice this arrival, yet it contains intimations which render it extremely probable that the fact took place. First, as soon as Paul had reached Athens, he sent a message back to Silas and Timothy, "for to come to him with all speed," Acts xvii. 15. Secondly, his stay at Athens was on purpose that they might join him there. "Now whilst Paul *waited for them at Athens*, his spirit was stirred in him," Acts xvii. 16. Thirdly, his departure from Athens does not appear to have been in any sort hastened or abrupt. It is said, "after these things,"—namely, his disputation with the Jews, his conferences with the philosophers, his discourse at Areopagus, and the gaining of some converts—"he departed from Athens, and came to Corinth." It is not hinted that he quitted Athens before the time that he had intended to leave it; it is not suggested that he was driven from thence, as he was from many cities, by tumults or persecutions, or because his life was no longer safe. Observe then the particulars which the history *does* notice—that Paul had ordered Timothy to follow him without delay, that he waited at Athens on purpose that Timothy might come up with him, that he stayed there as long as his own choice led him to continue. Laying these circumstances which the history does disclose together, it is highly probable that Timothy came to the apostle at Athens: a fact which the epistle, we have seen, virtually asserts, when it makes Paul send Timothy

back from Athens to Thessalonica. The *sending back of Timothy into Macedonia* accounts also for his not coming to Corinth till after Paul had been fixed in that city for some considerable time. Paul had found out Aquila and Priscilla, abode with them and wrought, being of the same craft; and reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath day, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks, Acts xviii. 1-5. All this passed at Corinth before Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Acts xviii. 5. If this was the first time of their coming up with him after their separation at Berea, there is nothing to account for a delay so contrary to what appears from the history itself to have been St. Paul's plan and expectation. This is a conformity of a peculiar species. The epistle discloses a fact which is not preserved in the history; but which makes what is said in the history more significant, probable, and consistent. The history bears marks of an omission; the epistle by reference furnishes a circumstance which supplies that omission.

No. V.

Chap. ii. 14. "For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God which in Judæa are in Christ Jesus; for ye also have suffered like things of *your own countrymen*, even as they have of the Jews."

To a reader of the Acts of the Apostles, it might seem at first sight, that the persecutions which the preachers and converts of Christianity underwent, were suffered at the hands of their old adversaries the Jews. But if we attend carefully to the accounts there delivered, we shall observe that, though the opposition made to the gospel usually *originated* from the enmity of the Jews, yet, in almost all places, the Jews went about to accomplish their purpose, by stirring up the Gentile inhabitants against their converted countrymen. Out of Judæa they had not power to do much mischief in any other way. This was the case at Thessalonica in particular: "The Jews which believed not, moved with envy, set all the city in an uproar," Acts xvii. 5. It was the same a short time afterwards at Berea: "When the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also, and stirred up the people," Acts xvii. 13. And before this, our apostle had met with a like species of persecution, in his progress through the

Lesser Asia : in every city "the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil-affected against the brethren," Acts xiv. 2. The epistle therefore represents the case accurately as the history states it. It was the Jews always who set on foot the persecutions against the apostles and their followers. He speaks truly therefore of them, when he says in the epistle, they "both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have *persecuted us* ;—forbidding us to speak unto the Gentiles," ch. ii. 15, 16. But out of Judæa it was at the hands of the Gentiles, it was "of their own countrymen," that the injuries they underwent were immediately sustained : "Ye have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews."

No. VI.

The apparent discrepancies between our *épistle* and the history, though of magnitude sufficient to repel the imputation of confederacy or transcription, (in which view they form a part of our argument,) are neither numerous nor very difficult to reconcile.

One of these may be observed in the ninth and tenth verses of the second chapter : "For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travel : for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily and justly and unblamably we behaved ourselves among you that believe." A person who reads this passage is naturally led by it to suppose that the writer had dwelt at Thessalonica for some considerable time ; yet of St. Paul's ministry in that city the history gives no other account than the following : that "he came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews:" that, "as his manner was," he "went in unto them, and *three sabbath days* reasoned with them out of the Scriptures:" that "some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas." The history then proceeds to tell us that the Jews which believed not set the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, where Paul and his companions lodged ; that the consequence of this outrage was, that "the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea," Acts xvii. 1-10. From the mention of his preaching three sabbath days in the Jewish synagogue, and from the want of any further specification of his ministry,

it has usually been taken for granted that Paul did not continue at Thessalonica more than three weeks. This, however, is inferred without necessity. It appears to have been St. Paul's practice, in almost every place that he came to, upon his first arrival, to repair to the synagogue. He thought himself bound to propose the gospel to the Jews first, agreeably to what he declared at Antioch in Pisidia; "it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you," Acts xiii. 46. If the Jews rejected his ministry, he quitted the synagogue, and betook himself to a Gentile audience. At Corinth, upon his first coming there, he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath; "but when the Jews opposed themselves, and blasphemed," he departed thence, expressly telling them, "From henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles;" and he remained in that city "a year and six months," Acts xviii. 6-11. At Ephesus, in like manner, for the space of three months he went into the synagogue; but "when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way, he departed from them and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this continued by the space of two years," Acts xix. 9, 10. Upon inspecting the history, I see nothing in it which negatives the supposition that St. Paul pursued the same plan at Thessalonica which he adopted in other places; and that, though he resorted to the synagogue only three sabbath days, yet he remained in the city, and in the exercise of his ministry among the Gentile citizens, much longer; and until the success of his preaching had provoked the Jews to excite the tumult and insurrection by which he was driven away.

Another seeming discrepancy is found in the ninth verse of the first chapter of the epistle: "For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how *ye turned to God from idols* to serve the living and true God." This text contains an assertion that, by means of St. Paul's ministry at Thessalonica, many idolatrous Gentiles had been brought over to Christianity. Yet the history, in describing the effects of that ministry, only says, that, "some of them (the Jews) believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few," ch. xvii. 4. The devout Greeks were those who already worshipped the one true God; and there-

fore could not be said, by embracing Christianity, "to be turned to God from idols."

This is the difficulty. The answer may be assisted by the following observations: The Alexandrine and Cambridge manuscripts read (for τῶν σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος) τῶν σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος in which reading they are also confirmed by the Vulgate Latin. And this reading is, in my opinion, strongly supported by the considerations, first, that οἱ σεβομένοι alone, that is, without Ἕλληνες, is used in this sense in the same chapter—Paul being come to Athens, διελέγετο ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις: secondly, that σεβομένοι and Ἕλληνες nowhere come together. The expression is redundant. The οἱ σεβομένοι must be Ἕλληνες. Thirdly, that the καὶ is much more likely to have been left out, *incuriâ manûs*, than to have been put in. Or, after all, if we be not allowed to change the present reading, which is undoubtedly retained by a great plurality of copies, may not the passage in the history be considered as describing only the effects of St. Paul's discourses during the three sabbath days in which he preached in the synagogue? and may it not be true, as we have remarked above, that his application to the Gentiles at large, and his success amongst them, was posterior to this?

CHAPTER X.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.*

It may seem odd to allege obscurity itself as an argument, or to draw a proof in favour of a writing from that which is naturally considered as the principal defect in its composition. The present epistle, however, furnishes a passage, hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us, the existence of which, under the darkness and difficulties that attend it, can be accounted for only by the supposition of the epistle being genuine; and upon that supposition is accounted for with great ease. The passage which I allude to is found in the second chapter; "That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all

that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU, I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS? *And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.* For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: *only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way* ; and then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." It were superfluous to prove, because it is in vain to deny, that this passage is involved in great obscurity, more especially the clauses distinguished by italics. Now the observation I have to offer is founded upon this, that the passage expressly refers to a conversation which the author had previously holden with the Thessalonians upon the same subject: "Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, *I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth.*" If such conversation actually passed, if, whilst "he was yet with them, he *told* them those things," then it follows that the epistle is authentic. And of the reality of this conversation it appears to be a proof, that what is said in the epistle might be understood by those who had been present at such conversation, and yet be incapable of being explained by any other. No man writes unintelligibly on purpose. But it may easily happen, that a part of a letter which relates to a subject, upon which the parties had conversed together before, which refers to what had been before *said*, which is in truth a portion or continuation of a former discourse, may be utterly without meaning to a stranger who should pick up the letter upon the road, and yet be perfectly clear to the person to whom it is directed, and with whom the previous communication had passed. And if, in a letter which thus accidentally fell into my hands, I found a passage expressly referring to a former conversation, and difficult to be explained without knowing that conversation, I should consider this very difficulty as a proof that the conversation had actually passed, and consequently that the letter contained the real correspondence of real persons. (z)

(z) The obscurity on which Paley here insists is certainly so far real as to justify his reasoning ; but when he calls it "a passage hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us," he goes far beyond the limit of truth. Mr. Biley, in his Supplement, has adduced copious evidence of an almost universal concurrence in the explication of the letting power among the early writers of the church. If we compare other prophecies, we are equally led to the same conclusion, that the letting

No. II.

Chap. iii. 8. "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us."

In a letter, purporting to have been written to another of the Macedonian churches, we find the following declaration:

"Now, ye Philippians, know also, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, *no church communicated with me, as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.*"

The conformity between these two passages is strong and plain. They confine the transaction to the same period. The Epistle to the Philippians refers to what passed "in the beginning of the gospel," that is to say, during the first preaching of the gospel on that side of the *Ægean* sea. The Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the apostle's conduct in that city upon "his first entrance in unto them," which the history informs us was in the course of his first visit to the peninsula of Greece.

As St. Paul tells the Philippians, "that no church communicated with him, as concerning giving and receiving, but they only," he could not, consistently with the truth of this declaration, have received anything from the neighbouring church of Thessalonica. What thus appears by general implication in an epistle to another church, when he writes to the Thessalonians themselves, is noticed expressly and particularly; "neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you."

The texts here cited further also exhibit a mark of conformity with what St. Paul is made to say of himself in the Acts of the Apostles. The apostle not only reminds the Thessalonians that he had not been chargeable to any of

power was the imperial dominion of pagan Rome. A minute reference to the history confirms this view. The letter was written from Corinth, not long after Aquila and Priscilla had arrived from Rome, in consequence of the decree of Claudius against the Jews. It was the Jews who, under the show of religion, were the main persecutors of the faith: and they themselves were now, in some sort, under the ban of the empire. The inspired apostle saw, doubtless, in this event, a key to the future course of Providence in the church of God; and that false religion and self-righteous delusions within the church, when once the external pressure of the imperial power was removed, would shoot up into portentous vigour, and issue in the predicted apostasy of the latter days.—ED.

them, but he states likewise the motive which dictated this reserve: "not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us," ch. iii. 9. This conduct, and what is much more precise, the end which he had in view by it, was the very same as that which the history attributes to St. Paul in a discourse which it represents him to have addressed to the elders of the church of Ephesus: "Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have *showed* you all things, how *that so labouring ye ought to support the weak*," Acts xx. 34. The sentiment in the epistle and in the speech is in both parts of it so much alike, and yet the words which convey it show so little of imitation or even of resemblance, that the agreement cannot well be explained, without supposing the speech and the letter to have really proceeded from the same person.

No. III.

Our reader remembers the passage in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which St. Paul spoke of the coming of Christ: "This we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, . . . and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.—But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief," 1 Thess. iv. 15–17; v. 4. It should seem that the Thessalonians, or some however amongst them, had from this passage conceived an opinion (and that not very unnaturally) that the coming of Christ was to take place instantly, *ὅτι ἐνέσθηκεν*;* and that this persuasion had produced, as it well might, much agitation in the church. The apostle therefore now writes, amongst other purposes, to quiet this alarm, and to rectify the misconstruction that had been put upon his words:—"Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, *nor by letter as from us, as*

* *ὅτι ἐνέσθηκεν*, nempe hoc anno, (namely, in this year,) says Grotius; *ἐνέσθηκεν* hic dicitur de re præsentī, ut Rom. viii. 38. 1 Cor. iii. 22; Gal. i. 4; Heb. ix. 9; (it is here used in reference to something present, as).

that the day of Christ is at hand." If the allusion which we contend for be admitted, namely, if it be admitted that the passage in the second epistle relates to the passage in the first, it amounts to a considerable proof of the genuineness of both epistles. I have no conception, because I know no example, of such a device in a forgery, as first to frame an ambiguous passage in a letter, then to represent the persons to whom the letter is addressed as mistaking the meaning of the passage, and lastly, to write a second letter in order to correct this mistake.

I have said that this argument arises out of the text, *if* the allusion be admitted; for I am not ignorant that many expositors understand the passage in the second epistle as referring to some forged letters, which had been produced in St. Paul's name, and in which the apostle had been made to say that the coming of Christ was then at hand. In defence, however, of the explanation which we propose, the reader is desired to observe,

1. The strong fact, that there exists a passage in the first epistle, to which that in the second is capable of being referred, that is, which accounts for the error ~~the~~ writer is solicitous to remove. Had no other epistle than the second been extant, and had it under these circumstances come to be considered, whether the text before us related to a forged epistle or to some misconstruction of a true one, many conjectures and many probabilities might have been admitted in the inquiry, which can have little weight when an epistle is produced, containing the very sort of passage we were seeking, that is, a passage liable to the misinterpretation which the apostle protests against.

2. That the clause which introduces the passages in the second epistle bears a particular affinity to what is found in the passage cited from the first epistle. The clause is this: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *by our gathering together unto him.*" Now in the first epistle the description of the coming of Christ is accompanied with the mention of this very circumstance of his saints being collected round him; "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, *to meet the Lord*

in the air," 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. This I suppose to be the "gathering together unto him," intended in the second epistle; and that the author, when he used these words, retained in his thoughts what he had written on the subject before.

3. The second epistle is written in the joint name of Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus, and it cautions the Thessalonians against being misled "by letter as from us" (ὡς δι' ἡμῶν). Do not these words, δι' ἡμῶν, appropriate the reference to some writing which bore the name of these three teachers? Now this circumstance, which is a very close one, belongs to the epistle at present in our hands; for the epistle which we call the first Epistle to the Thessalonians contains these names in its superscription.

4. The words in the original, as far as they are material to be stated, are these: εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοός, μήτε θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου. μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Under the weight of the preceding observations, may not the words μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, be construed to signify *quasi nos quid tale aut dixerimus aut scripserimus*,* intimating that their words had been mistaken, and that they had in truth said or written no such thing?

CHAPTER XI.*

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

FROM the third verse of the first chapter, "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," it is evident that this epistle was written soon after St. Paul had gone to Macedonia from Ephesus. Dr. Benson fixes its date to the time of St. Paul's journey recorded in the beginning of

* Should a contrary interpretation be preferred, I do not think that it implies the conclusion that a false epistle had then been published in the apostle's name. It will completely satisfy the allusion in the text to allow, that some one or other at Thessalonica had pretended to have been told by St. Paul and his companions, or to have seen a letter from them, in which they had said, that the day of Christ was at hand. In like manner as, Acts xv. 1, 24, it is recorded, that some had pretended to have received instructions from the church of Jerusalem, which had been received, "to whom they gave no such commandment." And thus Dr. Benson interpreted the passage μήτε θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, "nor be dismayed by any revelation, or discourse, or epistle, which any one shall pretend to have heard or received from us."

the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And after the uproar (excited by Demetrius at Ephesus) was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." And in this opinion Dr. Benson is followed by Michaelis, as he was preceded by the greater part of the commentators who have considered the question. There is however one objection to the hypothesis, which these learned men appear to me to have overlooked; and it is no other than this, that the superscription of the second Epistle to the Corinthians seems to prove, that at the time St. Paul is supposed by them to have written this Epistle to Timothy, Timothy in truth was with St. Paul in Macedonia. Paul, as it is related in the Acts, left Ephesus "for to go into Macedonia." When he had got into Macedonia he wrote his second Epistle to the Corinthians. Concerning this point there exists little variety of opinion. It is plainly indicated by the contents of the epistle. It is also strongly implied that the epistle was written *soon* after the apostle's arrival in Macedonia; for he begins his letter by a train of reflection, referring to his persecutions in Asia as to recent transactions, as to dangers from which he had lately been delivered. But in the salutation with which the epistle opens, *Timothy was joined with St. Paul*, and consequently could not at that time be "left behind at Ephesus." And as to the only solution of the difficulty which can be thought of, namely, that Timothy, though he was left behind at Ephesus upon St. Paul's departure from Asia, yet might follow him so soon after as to come up with the apostle in Macedonia, before he wrote his epistle to the Corinthians; that supposition is inconsistent with the terms and tenor of the epistle throughout: for the writer speaks uniformly of his intention to return to Timothy at Ephesus, and not of his expecting Timothy to come to him in Macedonia: "These things write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly*: but if I tarry long that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God," ch. iii. 14, 15. "*Till I come*, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," ch. iv. 13.

Since, therefore, the leaving of Timothy behind at Ephesus, when Paul went into Macedonia, suits not with any journey into Macedonia recorded in the Acts, I concur with bishop Pearson in placing the date of this epistle, and the journey referred to in it, at a period subsequent to St. Paul's first

imprisonment at Rome, and consequently subsequent to the era up to which the Acts of the Apostles brings his history. The only difficulty which attends our opinion is, that St. Paul must, according to us, have come to Ephesus after his liberation at Rome, contrary, as it should seem, to what he foretold to the Ephesian elders, "that they should see his face no more." And it is to save the infallibility of this prediction, and for no other reason of weight, that an earlier date is assigned to this epistle. The prediction itself, however, when considered in connexion with the circumstances under which it was delivered, does not seem to demand so much anxiety. The words in question are found in the twenty-fifth verse of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." In the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the same chapter, that is, two verses before, the apostle makes this declaration: "And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me." This "witnessing of the Holy Ghost" was undoubtedly prophetic and supernatural. But it went no further than to foretell that bonds and afflictions awaited him. And I can very well conceive, that this might be all which was communicated to the apostle by extraordinary revelation, and that the rest was the conclusion of his own mind, the desponding inference which he drew from strong and repeated intimations of approaching danger. And the expression "I know," which St. Paul here uses, does not perhaps, when applied to future events affecting himself, convey an assertion so positive and absolute as we may at first sight apprehend. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians and the twenty-fifth verse, "I know," says he, "that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith." Notwithstanding this strong declaration, in the second chapter and twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of this same epistle, and speaking also of the very same event, he is content to use a language of some doubt and uncertainty: "Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as *I shall see how it will go with me*. But *I trust* in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." And a few verses preceding these, he not only seems to doubt of his safety, but almost to despair; to contemplate

the possibility at least of his condemnation and martyrdom :
 "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your
 faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all." (aa)

No. I.*

But can we show that St. Paul visited Ephesus after his liberation at Rome? or rather, can we collect any hints from his other letters which make it probable that he did? If we can, then we have a *coincidence*; if we cannot, we have only an unauthorized supposition, to which the exigency of the case compels us to resort. Now, for this purpose, let us examine the Epistle to the Philippians and the Epistle to Philemon. These two epistles purport to be written whilst St. Paul was yet a prisoner at Rome. To the Philippians he writes as follows: "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." To Philemon, who was a Colossian, he gives this direction: "But withal prepare me also a lodging: for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." An inspection of the map will show us that Colosse was a city of the Lesser Asia, lying eastward, and at no great distance from Ephesus. Philippi was on the other, that is, the western side of the *Ægean* sea. If the apostle executed his purpose; if, in pursuance of the intention expressed in his letter to Philemon, he came to Colosse soon after he was set at liberty at Rome, it is very improbable that he would omit to visit Ephesus, which lay so near to it, and where he had spent three years of his ministry. As he was also under a promise to the church of Philippi to see them "shortly;" if he passed from Colosse

(aa) Mr. Greswell, Mr. Biley, and Canon Tate agree with Paley in the date of this epistle. On the other hand, Dr. Burton and the author of the *Literary History* maintain the opinion of Benson, Hug, and Michaelis, who place it between the two epistles to Corinth. This hypothesis admits of several minor varieties, but will be found, however modified, to be clogged with insuperable and decisive objections. As generally held, it supposes that Timothy reached Corinth, and returned to Ephesus, before Paul's departure. Hug further supposes that Timothy was the bearer of the first epistle; which is an evident mistake. Mr. Tate has urged a decisive objection against every form of it, in which Timothy is supposed to have reached Ephesus by way of Corinth, before Paul set out for Macedonia. The writer of the *Literary History* removes this objection by a second hypothesis, that Timothy returned from Macedonia. But this only creates fresh difficulties; for, on this view, Timothy is twice sent with a specific instruction, and twice in succession reverses and disobeys it. He is sent into Macedonia, that he may also visit Corinth, and returns direct to Ephesus, without executing his charge. He is left at Ephesus, that he may tarry till the apostle returns, and in a few weeks he deserts his post, and rejoins the apostle in Macedonia. Other reasons against this form of the hypothesis, still more decisive, will be found in the second part of this volume, under the second Epistle to the Corinthians and the first Epistle to Timothy. Some modifications of Paley's view will there be proposed, with the reasons on which they rest.—Ed.

to Philippi, or from Philippi to Colosse, he could hardly avoid taking Ephesus in his way. (bb)

NO. II.

Chap. v. 9. "Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old."

This accords with the account delivered in the sixth chapter of the Acts: "And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, *because their widows were neglected in the daily administration.*" It appears that, from the first formation of the Christian church, provision was made out of the public funds of the society for the indigent widows who belonged to it. The history, we have seen, distinctly records the existence of such an institution at Jerusalem, a few years after our Lord's ascension; and is led to the mention of it very incidentally, namely, by a dispute of which it was the occasion, and which produced important consequences to the Christian community. The epistle, without being suspected of borrowing from the history, refers, briefly indeed, but decisively to a similar establishment, subsisting some years afterwards at Ephesus. This agreement indicates that both writings were founded upon real circumstances.

But, in this article, the material thing to be noticed is the mode of expression: "Let not a widow be taken into the number."—No previous account or explanation is given, to which these words, "into the number," can refer; but the direction comes concisely and unpreparedly: "Let not a widow be taken into the number." Now this is the way in which a man writes who is conscious that he is writing to persons already acquainted with the subject of his letter; and who, he knows, will readily apprehend and apply what he says by virtue of their being so acquainted: but it is not the way in which a man writes upon any other occasion; and least of all, in which a man would draw up a feigned letter, or introduce a supposititious fact.*

(bb) See *HORÆ Apost. cap. ix. No. II.*, where reasons are given for an important modification of this hypothesis, respecting a later visit to Ephesus. See also Biley's *Suppl.* p. 120.—Ed.

* It is not altogether unconnected with our general purpose to remark, in the passage before us, the selection and reserve which St. Paul recommends to the governors of the church of Ephesus in the bestowing relief upon the poor, because it refutes a calumny which has been insinuated, that the liberality of the first Christians was an artifice to catch converts; or one of the temptations, however, by which the idle and mendicant were drawn into this society: "Let not a

No. III.

Chap. iii. 2, 3. "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house."

"*No striker*:" That is the article which I single out from the collection as evincing the antiquity at least, if not the genuineness, of the epistle; because it is an article which no man would have made the subject of caution who lived in an advanced era of the church. It agreed with the infancy of the society, and with no other state of it. After the government of the church had acquired the dignified form which it soon and naturally assumed, this injunction could have no place. Would a person who lived under a hierarchy, such as the Christian hierarchy became when it had settled into a regular establishment, have thought it necessary to prescribe concerning the qualification of a bishop, "that he should be no striker?" And this injunction would be equally alien from the imagination of the writer, whether he wrote in his own character, or personated that of an apostle.

No. IV.

Chap. v. 23. "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities."

Imagine an impostor sitting down to forge an epistle in the name of St. Paul. Is it credible that it should come into his head to give such a direction as this; so remote from every thing of doctrine or discipline, everything of public concern to the religion or the church, or to any sect, order, or party in it, and from every purpose with which such an epistle could be

widow be taken into the number under three score years old, having been the wife of one man, well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work. But the younger widows refuse." (v. 9, 10, 11.) And, in another place, "If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged; that it may relieve them that are widows indeed." And to the same effect, or rather more to our present purpose, the apostle writes in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: "Even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat," that is, at the public expense. "For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, *working not at all*, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." Could a designing or dissolute poor take advantage of bounty regulated with so much caution; or could the mind which dictated those sober and prudent directions be influenced in his recommendations of public charity by any other than properest motives of beneficence?

written? It seems to me that nothing but reality, that is, the real valetudinary situation of a real person, could have suggested a thought of so domestic a nature.

But if the peculiarity of the advice be observable, the place in which it stands is more so. The context is this: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure. Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities. Some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after." The direction to Timothy about his diet stands between two sentences, as wide from the subject as possible. The train of thought seems to be broken to let it in. Now when does this happen? It happens when a man writes as he remembers: when he puts down an article that occurs the moment it occurs, lest he should afterwards forget it. Of this the passage before us bears strongly the appearance. In actual letters, in the negligence of real correspondence, examples of this kind frequently take place; seldom, I believe, in any other production. For the moment a man regards what he writes as a *composition*, which the author of a forgery would, of all others, be the first to do, notions of order, in the arrangement and succession of his thoughts, present themselves to his judgment, and guide his pen.

No. V.

Chap. i. 15, 16. "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting."

What was the mercy which St. Paul here commemorates, and what was the crime of which he accuses himself, is apparent from the verses immediately preceding: "I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry; *who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious*: but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief," verses 12, 13. The whole quotation plainly refers to St. Paul's original enmity to the Christian name, the interposition of Providence in his conversion, and his subsequent designation to the ministry of the

gospel ; and by this reference affirms indeed the substance of the apostle's history delivered in the Acts. But what in the passage strikes my mind most powerfully, is the observation that is raised out of the fact : " For this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting." It is a just and solemn reflection, springing from the circumstances of the author's conversion, or rather from the impression which that great event had left upon his memory. It will be said, perhaps, that an impostor acquainted with St. Paul's history may have put such a sentiment into his mouth ; or, what is the same thing, into a letter drawn up in his name. But where, we may ask, is such an impostor to be found ? The piety, the truth, the benevolence of the thought, ought to protect it from this imputation. For, though we should allow that one of the great masters of the ancient tragedy could have given to his scene a sentiment as virtuous and as elevated as this is, and at the same time as appropriate, and as well suited to the particular situation of the person who delivers it ; yet whoever is conversant in these inquiries will acknowledge, that to do this in a fictitious production is beyond the reach of the understandings which have been employed upon any *fabrications* that have come down to us under Christian names.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

No. I.*

IT was the uniform tradition of the primitive church, that St. Paul visited Rome twice, and twice there suffered imprisonment ; and that he was put to death at Rome at the conclusion of his second imprisonment. This opinion concerning St. Paul's *two* journeys to Rome is confirmed by a great variety of hints and allusions in the epistle before us, compared with what fell from the apostle's pen in other letters purporting to have been written from Rome. That our present epistle was written whilst St. Paul was a *prisoner*, is distinctly intimated by the eighth verse of the first chapter : " Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner." And whilst he was a prisoner *at Rome*, by the

sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the same chapter : "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus ; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain : but, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me." Since it appears from the former quotation that St. Paul wrote this epistle in confinement, it will hardly admit of doubt that the word *chain*, in the latter quotation, refers to that confinement ; the chain by which he was *then* bound, the custody in which he was *then* kept. And if the word "chain" designate the author's confinement at the time of writing the epistle, the next words determine it to have been written from Rome : "He was not ashamed of my chain : but, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently." Now that it was not written during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, or during the same imprisonment in which the epistles to the Ephesians, the Colossians, the Philippians, and Philemon, were written, may be gathered, with considerable evidence, from a comparison of these several epistles with the present.

I. In the former epistles, the author confidently looked forward to his liberation from confinement, and his speedy departure from Rome. He tells the Philippians (chap. ii. 24), "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." Philemon he bids to prepare for him a lodging ; "for I trust," says he, "that through your prayers I shall be given unto you," ver. 22. In the epistle before us, he holds a language extremely different : "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith : henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day," ch. iv. 6-8.

II. When the former epistles were written from Rome, Timothy was with St. Paul ; and is joined with him in writing to the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. The present epistle implies that he was absent.

III. In the former epistles, Demas was with St. Paul at Rome ; "Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas greet you." In the epistle now before us : "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica."

IV. In the former epistles, Mark was with St. Paul, and joins in saluting the Colossians. In the present epistle, Timothy

is ordered to bring him with him, "for he is profitable to me for the ministry," chap. iv. 11.

The case of Timothy and of Mark might be very well accounted for, by supposing the present epistle to have been written *before* the others; so that Timothy, who is here exhorted "to come shortly unto him" (chap. iv. 9), might have arrived, and that Mark, "whom he was to bring with him" (chap. iv. 11), might have also reached Rome in sufficient time to have been with St. Paul when the four epistles were written; but then such a supposition is inconsistent with what is said of Demas, by which the posteriority of this to the other epistles is strongly indicated: for in the other epistles Demas was with St. Paul, in the present he hath "forsaken him, and is gone to Thessalonica." The opposition also of sentiment, with respect to the event of the persecution, is hardly reconcilable to the same imprisonment.

The two following considerations, which were first suggested upon this question by Ludovicus Capellus, are still more conclusive:

1. In the twentieth verse of the fourth chapter, St. Paul informs Timothy, that "Erastus abode at Corinth," *Ἐραστός ἔμεινεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ*. The form of expression implies, that Erastus had stayed behind at Corinth, when St. Paul left it. But this could not be meant of any journey from Corinth which St. Paul took prior to his first imprisonment at Rome; for when Paul departed from Corinth, as related in the twentieth chapter of the Acts, Timothy was with him: and this was the last time the apostle left Corinth before his coming to Rome, because he left it to proceed on his way to Jerusalem; soon after his arrival at which place he was taken into custody, and continued in that custody till he was carried to Cæsar's tribunal. There could be no need therefore to inform Timothy that "Erastus stayed behind at Corinth" upon this occasion, because if the fact were so, it must have been known to Timothy, who was present, as well as to St. Paul.

2. In the same verse our epistle also states the following article: "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick." When St. Paul passed through Miletum on his way to Jerusalem, as related Acts xx., xxi., Trophimus was not left behind, but accompanied him to that city. He was indeed the occasion of the uproar at Jerusalem in consequence of which St. Paul was

apprehended; "for they had seen," says the historian, "before with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple." This was evidently the last time of Paul's being at Miletus before his first imprisonment; for, as hath been said, after his apprehension at Jerusalem, he remained in custody till he was sent to Rome.

In these two articles, we have a journey referred to, which must have taken place subsequently to the conclusion of St. Luke's history, and of course, after St. Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment. The epistle, therefore, which contains this reference, since it appears from other parts of it to have been written while St. Paul was a prisoner at Rome, proves that he had returned to that city again, and undergone there a second imprisonment.

I do not produce these particulars for the sake of the support which they lend to the testimony of the fathers concerning St. Paul's *second* imprisonment, but to remark their consistency and agreement with one another. They are all resolvable into one supposition: and although the supposition itself be in some sort only negative, namely, that the epistle was not written during St. Paul's first residence at Rome, but in some future imprisonment in that city; yet is the consistency not less worthy of observation: for the epistle touches upon names and circumstances connected with the date and with the history of the first imprisonment, and mentioned in letters written during that imprisonment, and so touches upon them, as to leave what is said of one consistent with what is said of others, and consistent also with what is said of them in different epistles. Had one of these circumstances been so described as to have fixed the date of the epistle to the first imprisonment, it would have involved the rest in contradiction. And when the number and particularity of the articles which have been brought together under this head are considered, and when it is considered also that the comparisons we have formed amongst them were in all probability neither provided for, nor thought of, by the writer of the epistle, it will be deemed something very like the effect of truth, that no invincible repugnancy is perceived between them. (cc)

(cc) In the *Horræ Apost.* cap. xi. No. i., the objections of Hug and others to this date of the epistle are examined, and its correctness is established by decisive arguments.—Ed.

No. II.

In the Acts of the Apostles, in the sixteenth chapter, and at the first verse, we are told that Paul “came to Derbe and Lystra: and, behold, a certain disciple was there named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman, which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek.” In the epistle before us, in the first chapter, and at the fourth and fifth verses, St. Paul writes to Timothy thus: “Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy; when I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, *and thy mother Eunice*; and I am persuaded that in thee also.” Here we have a fair unforced example of coincidence. In the history Timothy was the “son of a Jewess *that* believed:” in the epistle St. Paul applauds “the *faith* which dwelt in his mother Eunice.” In the history it is said of the mother, “that she was a Jewess, and believed:” of the father, “that he was a Greek.” Now when it is said of the mother *alone* “that she believed,” the father being nevertheless mentioned in the same sentence, we are led to suppose of the father that he did not believe, that is, either that he was dead, or that he remained unconverted. Agreeably hereunto, whilst praise is bestowed in the epistle upon one parent, and upon her sincerity in the faith, no notice is taken of the other. The mention of the grandmother is the addition of a circumstance not found in the history; but it is a circumstance which, as well as the names of the parties, might naturally be expected to be known to the apostle, though overlooked by his historian.

No. III.

Chap. iii. 15. “And that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.”

This verse discloses a circumstance which agrees exactly with what is intimated in the quotation from the Acts, adduced in the last number. In that quotation it is recorded of Timothy’s mother, “that she was a Jewess.” This description is virtually, though, I am satisfied, undesignedly, recognised in the epistle, when Timothy is reminded in it, “that from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures.” “The Holy Scriptures” undoubtedly meant the Scriptures of the Old Testament. The expression bears that sense in every place in which it occurs. Those of the New had not yet acquired the

name ; not to mention, that in Timothy's childhood, probably, none of them existed. In what manner then could Timothy have known "from a child" the Jewish Scriptures, had he not been born, on one side or on both, of Jewish parentage ? Perhaps he was not less likely to be carefully instructed in them, for that his mother alone professed that religion.

No. IV.

Chap. ii. 22. "Flee also *youthful* lusts : but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart."

"*Flee also youthful lusts.*" The suitableness of this precept to the age of the person to whom it is addressed, is gathered from 1 Timothy iv. 12 : "Let no man despise thy youth." Nor do I deem the less of this coincidence, because the propriety resides in a single epithet ; or because this one precept is joined with, and followed by, a train of others, not more applicable to Timothy than to any ordinary convert. It is in these transient and cursory allusions that the argument is best founded. When a writer dwells and rests upon a point in which some coincidence is discerned, it may be doubted whether he himself had not fabricated the conformity, and was endeavouring to display and set it off. But when the reference is contained in a single word, unobserved perhaps by most readers, the writer passing on to other subjects, as unconscious that he had hit upon a correspondency, or unsolicitous whether it were remarked or not, we may be pretty well assured that no fraud was exercised, no imposition intended.

No. V.*

Chap. iii. 10, 11. "But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me *at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra* ; what persecutions I endured : but out of them all the Lord delivered me."

The Antioch here mentioned was not Antioch the capital of Syria, where Paul and Barnabas resided "a long time ;" but Antioch in Pisidia, to which place Paul and Barnabas came in their first apostolic progress, and where Paul delivered a memorable discourse, which is preserved in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts. At this Antioch the history relates, that "the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, *and raised persecution against Paul*

and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came into *Iconium*. . . . And it came to pass in *Iconium*, that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil-affected against the brethren. Long time therefore abode they, speaking boldly in the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the multitude of the city was divided ; and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, *to use them despitefully and to stone them*, they were ware of it, and fled unto *Lystra* and *Derbe*, cities of *Lycaonia*, and unto the region that lieth round about, and there they preached the gospel. . . . And there came thither certain Jews from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, who persuaded the people, and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city : and the next day he departed with Barnabas to *Derbe*. And when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to *Lystra*, and to *Iconium*, and *Antioch*." This account comprises the period to which the allusion in the epistle is to be referred. We have so far therefore a conformity between the history and the epistle, that St. Paul is asserted in the history to have suffered persecutions in the three cities, his persecutions at which are appealed to in the epistle ; and not only so, but to have suffered these persecutions both in immediate succession, and in the order in which the cities are mentioned in the epistle. The conformity also extends to another circumstance. In the apostolic history *Lystra* and *Derbe* are commonly mentioned together : in the quotation from the epistle, *Lystra* is mentioned, and not *Derbe*. And the distinction will appear on this occasion to be accurate ; for St. Paul is here enumerating his persecutions : and although he underwent grievous persecutions in each of the three cities through which he passed to *Derbe*, at *Derbe* itself he met with none : " The next day he departed," says the historian, " to *Derbe* ; and when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to *Lystra*." The

epistle, therefore, in the names of the cities, in the order in which they are enumerated, and in the place at which the enumeration stops, corresponds exactly with the history.

But a second question remains, namely, how these persecutions were "known" to Timothy, or why the apostle should recall these in particular to his remembrance, rather than many other persecutions with which his ministry had been attended. When some time, probably three years afterwards, (*vide* Pearson's "Annales Paulinas,") St. Paul made a second journey through the same country, "in order to go again and visit the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord," we read, Acts xvi. 1, that, when "he came to Derbe and Lystra, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus." One or other, therefore, of these cities was the place of Timothy's abode. We read, moreover, that he was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium; so that he must have been well acquainted with these places. Also again, when Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, Timothy was already a disciple: "Behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus." He must therefore have been converted *before*. But since it is expressly stated in the epistle, that Timothy was converted by St. Paul himself, that he was "his own son in the faith;" it follows that he must have been converted by him upon his former journey into those parts, which was the very time when the apostle underwent the persecutions referred to in the epistle. Upon the whole, then, persecutions at the several cities named in the epistle are expressly recorded in the Acts: and Timothy's knowledge of this part of St. Paul's history, which knowledge is appealed to in the epistle, is fairly deduced from the place of his abode, and the time of his conversion. It may further be observed, that it is probable from this account, that St. Paul was in the midst of those persecutions when Timothy became known to him. No wonder then that the apostle, though in a letter written long afterwards, should remind his favourite convert of those scenes of affliction and distress under which they first met.

Although this coincidence, as to the names of the cities, be more specific and direct than many which we have pointed out, yet I apprehend there is no just reason for thinking it to be artificial: for had the writer of the epistle sought a coincidence with the history upon this head, and searched the Acts of the

Apostles for the purpose, I conceive he would have sent us at once to Philippi and Thessalonica, where Paul suffered persecution, and where, from what is stated, it may easily be gathered that Timothy accompanied him, rather than have appealed to persecutions as known to Timothy, in the account of which persecutions Timothy's presence is not mentioned; it not being till after one entire chapter, and in the history of a journey three years future to this, that Timothy's name occurs in the Acts of the Apostles for the first time. (*dd*)

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

No. I.

A VERY characteristic circumstance in this epistle, is the quotation from Epimenides, chap. i. 12: "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."

Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύονται, κακὰ θηρία, ὕστεροι ἀργαί.

I call this quotation characteristic, because no writer in the New Testament, except St. Paul, appealed to heathen testimony; and because St. Paul repeatedly did so. In his celebrated speech at Athens, preserved in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts, he tells his audience, that in God "we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring."

—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

(*dd*) It is a curious and instructive circumstance, that this passage, which is really such a confirmation of the genuineness of the letter, was adduced by Schleiermacher as a mark of its spuriousness, and this too in a treatise published several years later than the *Horse Pauline*. Would the apostle, he asks, if he wished to confirm the courage of his companion, have therein mentioned persecutions, of which Timothy was not an eye-witness, since they occurred in the time which preceded his acquaintance with him, and have passed over in silence the far severer ones at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Jerusalem?

Now this objection is really the most triumphant confirmation of Paley's reasoning. We see that this learned critic, looking superficially at the subject, just as a forger would have done, thinks that the persecutions at Thessalonica were the first that Timothy witnessed, and hence that these should have been the earliest mentioned. But in reality, as Paley has shown, the persecutions at Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra must have been known to Timothy, because he lived either at Lystra or Derbe, and was a convert of the apostle at the very time that he was enduring those persecutions. The mention of these persecutions rather than others is thus a clear sign that the letter is genuine, and not the production of a mere forger, who, like a neologian objector, would have viewed the events more superficially, and begun with the troubles in Macedonia rather than those in Pisidia and Lycaonia. The last paragraph of Paley's remarks could not have received a more striking commentary than Schleiermacher's objection, fifteen years later, has supplied.—Ed.

The reader will perceive much similarity of manner in these two passages. The reference in the speech is to a heathen poet; it is the same in the epistle. In the speech the apostle urges his hearers with the authority of a poet of *their own*; in the epistle he avails himself of the same advantage. Yet there is a variation, which shows that the hint of inserting a quotation in the epistle was not, as it may be suspected, borrowed from seeing the like practice attributed to St. Paul in the history; and it is this, that in the epistle the author cited is called a *prophet*, "one of themselves, even a *prophet* of their own." Whatever might be the reason for calling Epimenides a prophet; whether the names of poet and prophet were occasionally convertible; whether Epimenides in particular had obtained that title, as Grotius seems to have proved; or whether the appellation was given to him, in this instance, as having delivered a description of the Cretan character, which the future state of morals among them verified: whatever was the reason, (and any of these reasons will account for the variation, supposing St. Paul to have been the author,) one point is plain, namely, if the epistle had been forged, and the author had inserted a quotation in it merely from having seen an example of the same kind in a speech ascribed to St. Paul, he would so far have imitated his original, as to have introduced his quotation in the same manner; that is, he would have given to Epimenides the title which he saw there given to Aratus. The other side of the alternative is, that the history took the hint from the epistle. But that the author of the Acts of the Apostles had not the Epistle to Titus before him, at least that he did not use it as one of the documents or materials of his narrative, is rendered nearly certain by the observation that the name of Titus does not once occur in his book.

It is well known, and was remarked by St. Jerome, that the apophthegm in the fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," is an iambic of Menander's:

Φθόρονσιν ἦθη χρηστὴ δμῶν κακὰ.

Here we have another unaffected instance of the same turn and habit of composition. Probably there are some hitherto unnoticed; and more, which the loss of the original authors renders impossible to be now ascertained.

No. II.*

There exists a visible affinity between the Epistle to Titus and the first Epistle to Timothy. Both letters were addressed to persons left by the writer to preside in their respective churches during his absence. Both letters are principally occupied in describing the qualifications to be sought for, in those whom they should appoint to offices in the church; and the ingredients of this description are in both letters nearly the same. Timothy and Titus are likewise cautioned against the same prevailing corruptions, and in particular against the same misdirection of their cares and studies. This affinity obtains, not only in the subject of the letters, which, from the similarity of situation in the persons to whom they were addressed, might be expected to be somewhat alike, but extends, in a great variety of instances, to the phrases and expressions. The writer accosts his two friends with the same salutation, and passes on to the business of his letter by the same transition.

"Unto Timothy, *my own son in the faith*: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Lord. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia,*" etc. 1 Tim. i. 2, 3.

"To Titus, *mine own son after the common faith*: Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour. *For this cause left I thee in Crete.*" Tit. i. 4, 5.

If Timothy was not to "*give heed to fables* and endless *genealogies*, which minister *questions*," (1 Tim. i. 4,) Titus also was to "avoid foolish *questions*, and *genealogies*, and contentions," (chap. iii. 9,) and was to "rebuke them sharply, *not giving heed to Jewish fables*," (chap. i. 13, 14.) If Timothy was to be a pattern, (*τύπος*,) (1 Tim. iv. 12,) so was Titus, (chap. ii. 7.) If Timothy was to "let no man despise his youth," (1 Tim. iv. 12,) Titus also was to "let no man despise him." (chap. ii. 15.) This verbal consent is also observable in some very peculiar expressions, which have no relation to the particular character of Timothy or Titus.

The phrase, "it is a faithful saying," (*πιστός ὁ λόγος*,) made use of to preface some sentence upon which the writer lays a more than ordinary stress, occurs three times in the first Epistle to Timothy, once in the second, and once in the epistle before us, and in no other part of St. Paul's writings; and it is remarkable that these three epistles were probably

all written towards the conclusion of his life ; and that they are the only epistles which were written after his first imprisonment at Rome.

The same observation belongs to another singularity of expression, and that is in the epithet "*sound*," (*ὑγιαίνων*), as applied to words or doctrine. It is thus used, twice in the first Epistle to Timothy, twice in the second, and three times in the Epistle to Titus, beside two cognate expressions, *ὑγιαίνοντας τῇ πίστει*, and *λόγον ὑγιῆ* ; and it is found, in the same sense, in no other part of the New Testament.

The phrase, "God our Saviour," stands in nearly the same predicament. It is repeated three times in the first Epistle to Timothy, as many in the Epistle to Titus, and in no other book of the New Testament occurs at all, except once in the Epistle of Jude.

Similar terms, intermixed indeed with others, are employed in the two epistles, in enumerating the qualifications required in those who should be advanced to stations of authority in the church.

"A bishop then must be blameless, *the husband of one wife*, vigilant, *sober*, of good behaviour, *given to hospitality*, apt to teach ; *not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre* ; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous ; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity,"* 1 Tim. iii. 2-4.

"If any be *blameless, the husband of one wife*, having faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly. For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God ; not self-willed, not soon angry, *not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre* ; but a *lover of hospitality*, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate,"† Titus i. 6-8.

The most natural account which can be given of these resemblances, is to suppose that the two epistles were written nearly at the same time, and whilst the same ideas and phrases dwelt in the writer's mind. Let us inquire, therefore, whether the notes of time, extant in the two epistles, in any manner favour this supposition.

* "Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, μίας γυναικὸς ἄνδρα, νηφάλιον, σφρόνα, κόσμιον, φιλόφρον, διδασκικόν, μὴ πάροικον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ ἀσχροκερδῆ· ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ, ἀμαχόν, ἀφιλάργυρον· τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον, τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος."

† "Ἐἰ τις ἐστὶν ἀνέγκλητος, μίας γυναικὸς ἄνθρωπος, τέκνα ἔχων πιστὰ, μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίας, ἢ ἀνυπότακτα. Δεῖ γάρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμον, μὴ ἐνθάδῃ, μὴ ὀργίλον, μὴ πάροικον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ ἀσχροκερδῆ· ἀλλὰ φιλόφρον, φιλόγαθον, σφρόνα, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, ἐγκρατῆ."

We have seen that it was necessary to refer the first Epistle to Timothy to a date subsequent to St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, because there was no journey into Macedonia prior to that event, which accorded with the circumstance of leaving Timothy behind at Ephesus. The journey of St. Paul from Crete, alluded to in the epistle before us, and in which Titus "was left in Crete to set in order the things that were wanting," must, in like manner, be carried to the period which intervened between his first and second imprisonment. For the history, which reaches, we know, to the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment, contains no account of his going to Crete, except upon his voyage as a prisoner to Rome; and that this could not be the occasion referred to in our epistle is evident from hence, that when St. Paul wrote this epistle, he appears to have been at liberty; whereas after that voyage, he continued for two years at least in confinement. Again, it is agreed that St. Paul wrote his first Epistle to Timothy from Macedonia: "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went (or came) into Macedonia." And that he was in these parts, that is, in this peninsula, when he wrote the Epistle to Titus, is rendered probable by his directing Titus to come to him to Nicopolis: "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent (make haste) to come unto me to Nicopolis: for I have determined there to winter." The most noted city of that name was in Epirus, near to Actium. And I think the form of speaking, as well as the nature of the case, renders it probable that the writer was at Nicopolis, or in the neighbourhood thereof, when he dictated this direction to Titus.

Upon the whole, if we may be allowed to suppose that St. Paul, after his liberation at Rome, sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way; that from Asia and from Ephesus, the capital of that country, he proceeded into Macedonia, and crossing the peninsula in his progress, came into the neighbourhood of Nicopolis; we have a route which falls in with every thing. It executes the intention expressed by the apostle of visiting Colosse and Philippi as soon as he should be set at liberty at Rome. It allows him to leave Titus at Crete, and Timothy at Ephesus, as he went into Macedonia: and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of Greece, and probably the neighbourhood of Nicopolis: thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for that affinity

between them, both in subject and language, which our remarks have pointed out. I confess that the journey which we have thus traced out for St. Paul is, in a great measure, hypothetic: but it should be observed, that it is a species of consistency, which seldom belongs to falsehood, to admit of an hypothesis, which includes a great number of independent circumstances without contradiction. (ee)

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

No. I.

THE singular correspondency between this epistle and that to the Colossians has been remarked already. An assertion in the Epistle to the Colossians, namely, that "Onesimus was one of them," is verified, not by any mention of Colosse, any the most distant intimation concerning the place of Philemon's abode, but singly by stating Onesimus to be Philemon's servant, and by joining in the salutation Philemon with Archippus; for this Archippus, when we go back to the Epistle to the Colossians, appears to have been an inhabitant of that city, and, as it should seem, to have held an office of authority in that church. The case stands thus. Take the Epistle to the Colossians alone, and no circumstance is discoverable which makes out the assertion, that Onesimus was "one of them." Take the Epistle to Philemon alone, and nothing at all appears concerning the place to which Philemon or his servant Onesimus belonged. For anything that is said in the epistle, Philemon might have been a Thessalonian, a Philippian, or an Ephesian, as well as a Colossian. Put the two epistles together, and the matter is clear. The reader perceives a *junction* of circumstances, which ascertains the conclusion at once. Now all that is necessary to be added in this place is, that this correspondency evinces the genuineness of one epistle, as well as of the other. It is like comparing the two parts of a cloven tally. Coincidence proves the authenticity of both.

No. II.

And this coincidence is perfect; not only in the main article,

(ee) For some modification of this route see *Horræ Apost. cap. ix. No. ii.*—ED.

of showing, by implication, Onesimus to be a Colossian, but in many dependent circumstances.

1. "I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I *have sent again*," (verses 10-12.) It appears from the Epistle to the Colossians, that, in truth, Onesimus was sent at that time to Colosse: "All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, *with Onesimus*, a faithful and beloved brother." Coloss. iv. 7-9.

2. "I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, *whom I have begotten in my bonds*," (ver. 10.) It appears from the preceding quotation, that Onesimus was with St. Paul when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians: and that he wrote that epistle *in imprisonment* is evident from his declaration in the fourth chapter and third verse: "Praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also *in bonds*."

3. St. Paul bids Philemon prepare for him a lodging: "For I trust," says he, "that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." This agrees with the expectation of speedy deliverance, which he expressed in another epistle written during the same imprisonment: "Him" (Timothy) "I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. *But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly*," Phil. ii. 23, 24.

4. As the letter to Philemon, and that to the Colossians, were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, the one to a particular inhabitant, the other to the church of Colosse, it may be expected that the same or nearly the same persons would be about St. Paul, and join with him, as was the practice, in the salutations of the epistle. Accordingly we find the names of Aristarchus, Marcus, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, in both epistles. Timothy, who is joined with St. Paul in the superscription of the Epistle to the Colossians, is joined with him in this. Tychicus did not salute Philemon, because he accompanied the epistle to Colosse, and would undoubtedly there see him. Yet the reader of the Epistle to Philemon will remark one considerable diversity in the catalogue of saluting friends, and which shows that the catalogue was not copied from that to the Colossians. In the Epistle to the Colossians, Aristarchus is called by St. Paul his fellow-

prisoner, Coloss. iv. 10; in the Epistle to Philemon, Aristarchus is mentioned without any addition, and the title of fellow-prisoner is given to Epaphras.*

And let it also be observed, that, notwithstanding the close and circumstantial agreement between the two epistles, this is not the case of an opening left in a genuine writing, which an impostor is induced to fill up; nor of a reference to some writing not extant, which sets a sophist at work to supply the loss, in like manner as, because St. Paul was supposed (Coloss. iv. 16) to allude to an epistle written by him to the Laodiceans, some person has from thence taken the hint of uttering a forgery under that title. The present, I say, is not the case; for Philemon's name is not mentioned in the Epistle to the Colossians; Onesimus' servile condition is nowhere hinted at, any more than his crime, his flight, or the place or time of his conversion. The story therefore of the epistle, if it be a fiction, is a fiction to which the author could not have been guided by anything he had read in St. Paul's genuine writings.

No. III.

Ver. 4, 5. "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints."

"*Hearing of thy love and faith.*" This is the form of speech which St. Paul was wont to use towards those churches which he had not seen, or then visited: see Rom. i. 8; Ephes. i. 15; Col. i. 3, 4. Toward those churches and persons, with whom he was previously acquainted, he employed a different phrase; as, "I thank my God always on your behalf" (1 Cor. i. 4; 2 Thess. i. 3); or, "upon every *remembrance* of you" (Phil. i. 3; 1 Thess. i. 2, 3; 2 Tim. i. 3); and never speaks of *hearing of them*. Yet, I think it must be concluded, from the nineteenth verse of this epistle, that Philemon had been converted by St. Paul himself; "Albeit, I do not say to thee how *thou owest unto me* even thine own self besides." Here then is a peculiarity. Let us inquire whether the epistle supplies any

* Dr. Benson observes, and perhaps truly, that the appellation of fellow-prisoner, as applied by St. Paul to Epaphras, did not imply that they were imprisoned together at the time; any more than your calling a person your fellow-traveller imports that you are then upon your travels. If he had, upon any former occasion, travelled with you, you might afterwards speak of him under that title. It is just so with the term fellow-prisoner.

circumstance which will account for it. We have seen that it may be made out, not from the epistle itself, but from a comparison of the epistle with that to the Colossians, that Philemon was an inhabitant of Colosse : and it further appears from the Epistle to the Colossians, that St. Paul had never been in that city ; “I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh.” Col. ii. 1. Although, therefore, St. Paul had formerly met with Philemon at some other place, and had been the immediate instrument of his conversion, yet Philemon’s faith and conduct afterwards, inas-much as he lived in a city which St. Paul had never visited, could only be known to him by fame and reputation.

No. IV.

The tenderness and delicacy of this epistle have long been admired : “Though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love’s sake I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ ; I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds.” There is something certainly very melting and persuasive in this and every part of the epistle. Yet, in my opinion, the character of St. Paul prevails in it throughout. The warm, affectionate, authoritative teacher is interceding with an absent friend for a beloved convert. He urges his suit with an earnestness, be-fitting perhaps not so much the occasion, as the ardour and sensibility of his own mind. Here also, as everywhere, he shows himself conscious of the weight and dignity of his mission ; nor does he suffer Philemon for a moment to forget it : “I *might* be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient.” He is careful also to recall, though obliquely, to Philemon’s memory, the sacred obligation under which he had laid him, by bringing to him the knowledge of Jesus Christ : “I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides.” Without laying aside, therefore, the apostolic character, our author softens the imperative style of his address, by mixing with it every sentiment and consideration that could move the heart of his correspondent. Aged and in prison, he is content to supplicate and entreat. Onesimus was rendered dear to him by his conversion and his services : the child of his affliction, and “ministering unto him

in the bonds of the gospel." This ought to recommend him, whatever had been his fault, to Philemon's forgiveness: "Receive him as myself, as my own bowels." Everything, however, should be voluntary. St. Paul was determined that Philemon's compliance should flow from his own bounty: "Without thy mind would I do nothing; that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly;" trusting nevertheless to his gratitude and attachment for the performance of all that he requested, and for more: "Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say."

St. Paul's discourse at Miletus; his speech before Agrippa; his Epistle to the Romans, as hath been remarked (No. VIII.); that to the Galatians, chap. iv. 11-20; to the Philippians, chap. i. 29; chap. ii. 2; the second to the Corinthians, chap. vi. 1-13; and indeed some part or other of almost every epistle, exhibit examples of a similar application to the feelings and affections of the persons whom he addresses. And it is observable, that these pathetic effusions, drawn for the most part from his own sufferings and situation, usually precede a command, soften a rebuke, or mitigate the harshness of some disagreeable truth.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE EPISTLES.

SIX of these *subscriptions* are false or improbable; that is, they are either absolutely contradicted by the contents of the epistle, or are difficult to be reconciled with them.

I. The subscription of the first Epistle to the Corinthians states that it was written from Philippi, notwithstanding that, in the sixteenth chapter and the eighth verse of the epistle, St. Paul informs the Corinthians that he will "tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost;" and notwithstanding that he begins the salutations in the epistle by telling them "the churches of Asia salute you;" a pretty evident indication that he himself was in Asia at this time.

II. The Epistle to the Galatians is by the subscription dated from Rome; yet, in the epistle itself, St. Paul expresses his surprise "that they were *so soon* removing from him that called them;" whereas his journey to Rome was ten years

posterior to the conversion of the Galatians. And what, I think, is more conclusive, the author, though speaking of himself in this more than any other epistle, does not once mention his bonds, or call himself a prisoner; which he had not failed to do in every one of the four epistles written from that city, and during that imprisonment.

III. The first Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, the subscription tells us, from Athens; yet the epistle refers expressly to the coming of Timotheus from Thessalonica (chap. iii. 6); and the history informs us, Acts xviii. 5, that Timothy came out of Macedonia to St. Paul at *Corinth*.

IV. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians is dated, and without any discoverable reason, from Athens also. If it be truly the *second*; if it refer, as it appears to do (chap. ii. 2), to the first, and the first was written from Corinth, the place must be erroneously assigned, for the history does not allow us to suppose that St. Paul, after he had reached Corinth, went back to Athens.

V. The first Epistle to Timothy the subscription asserts to have been sent from Laodicea; yet, when St. Paul writes, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, *πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν* (when I set out for Macedonia)," the reader is naturally led to conclude, that he wrote the letter upon his arrival in that country.

VI. The Epistle to Titus is dated from Nicopolis in Macedonia, whilst no city of that name is known to have existed in that province.

The use, and the only use, which I make of these observations, is to show how easily errors and contradictions steal in, where the writer is not guided by original knowledge. There are only eleven distinct assignments of date to St. Paul's epistles (for the four written from Rome may be considered as plainly contemporary); and of these, six seem to be erroneous. I do not attribute any authority to these subscriptions. I believe them to have been conjectures founded sometimes upon loose traditions, but more generally upon a consideration of some particular text, without sufficiently comparing it with other parts of the epistle, with different epistles, or with the history. Suppose then that the subscriptions had come down to us as authentic parts of the epistles, there would have been more contrarieties and difficulties arising out of these final verses, than from all the rest of the volume. Yet, if the

epistles had been forged, the whole must have been made up of the same elements as those of which the subscriptions are composed, namely, tradition, conjecture, and inference: and it would have remained to be accounted for, how, whilst so many errors were crowded into the concluding clauses of the letters, so much consistency should be preserved in other parts.

The same reflection arises from observing the oversights and mistakes which learned men have committed, when arguing upon allusions which relate to time and place, or when endeavouring to digest scattered circumstances into a continued story. It is indeed the same case; for these subscriptions must be regarded as ancient scholia, and as nothing more. Of this liability to error I can present the reader with a notable instance; and which I bring forward for no other purpose than that to which I apply the erroneous subscriptions. Ludovicus Capellus, in that part of his "*Historica Apostolica Illustrata*," which is entitled *De Ordine* Epist. Paul., writing upon the second Epistle to the Corinthians, triumphs unmercifully over the want of sagacity in Baronius, who, it seems, makes St. Paul write his Epistle to Titus from Macedonia upon his second visit into that province; whereas it appears from the history that Titus, instead of being at Crete, where the epistle places him, was at that time sent by the apostle from Macedonia to Corinth. "*Animadvertere est*," says Capellus, "*magnam hominis illius αβελειαν, qui vult Titum a Paulo in Cretam abductum, illicque relictum, cum inde Nicopolim navigaret, quem tamen agnoscit a Paulo ex Macedonia missum esse Corinthum.*" This probably will be thought a detection of inconsistency in Baronius. But what is the most remarkable is, that in the same chapter in which he thus indulges his contempt for Baronius' judgment, Capellus himself falls into an error of the same kind, and more gross and palpable than that which he reproves. For he begins the chapter by stating the second Epistle to the Corinthians and the first Epistle to Timothy to be nearly contemporary; to have been both written during the apostle's second visit into Macedonia; and that a doubt subsisted concerning the immediate priority or their dates: "*Posterior ad eosdem Corinthios Epistola, et prior ad Timotheum certant de prioritare, et sub iudice lis est; utraque autem scripta est paulo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret, sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet.*" Now, in the first place, it is

highly improbable that the two epistles should have been written either nearly together, or during the same journey through Macedonia; for, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, Timothy appears to have been *with* St. Paul, in the epistle addressed to him, to have been left behind at Ephesus, and not only left behind, but directed to continue there, till St. Paul should return to that city. In the second place, it is inconceivable, that a question should be proposed concerning the priority of date of the two epistles; for, when St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, opens his address to him by saying, "as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," no reader can doubt but that he here refers to the *last* interview which had passed between them; that he had not seen him since; whereas if the epistle be posterior to that to the Corinthians, yet written upon the same visit into Macedonia, this could not be true; for as Timothy was along with St. Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians, he must, upon this supposition, have passed over to St. Paul in Macedonia after he had been left by him at Ephesus, and must have returned to Ephesus again before the epistle was written. What misled Ludovicus Capellus was simply this,—that he had entirely overlooked Timothy's name in the superscription of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Which oversight appears not only in the quotation which we have given, but from his telling us, as he does, that Timothy came from Ephesus to St. Paul at *Corinth*; whereas the superscription proves that Timothy was already with St. Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians from Macedonia.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONCLUSION.

IN the outset of this inquiry, the reader was directed to consider the Acts of the Apostles and the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul as certain ancient manuscripts lately discovered in the closet of some celebrated library. We have adhered to this view of the subject. External evidence of every kind has been removed out of sight; and our endeavours have been employed to collect the indications of truth and authenticity, which appeared to exist in the writings themselves, and to result from a comparison of their different parts. It is not however necessary to continue this supposition longer. The

testimony which other remains of contemporary, or the monuments of adjoining ages, afford to the reception, notoriety, and public estimation of a book, form, no doubt, the first proof of its genuineness. And in no books whatever is this proof more complete, than in those at present under our consideration. The inquiries of learned men, and, above all, of the excellent Lardner, who never overstates a point of evidence, and whose fidelity in citing his authorities has in no one instance been impeached, have established, concerning these writings, the following propositions :

I. That in the age immediately posterior to that in which St. Paul lived, his letters were publicly read and acknowledged.

Some of them are quoted or alluded to by almost every Christian writer that followed, by Clement of Rome, by Hermas, (ff) by Ignatius, by Polycarp, disciples or contemporaries of the apostles: by Justin Martyr, by the churches of Gaul, by Irenæus, by Athenagoras, by Theophilus, by Clement of Alexandria, by Hermias, by Tertullian, who occupied the succeeding age. Now when we find a book quoted or referred to by an ancient author, we are entitled to conclude, that it was read and received in the age and country in which that author lived. And this conclusion does not, in any degree, rest upon the judgment or character of the author making such reference. Proceeding by this rule, we have, concerning the first Epistle to the Corinthians in particular, within forty years after the epistle was written, evidence, not only of its being extant at Corinth, but of its being known and read at Rome. Clement, bishop of that city, writing to the church of Corinth, uses these words : " Take into your hands the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle. What did he at first write unto you in the beginning of the gospel? Verily he did by the Spirit admonish you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because that even then you did form parties." * This was written at a time when probably some must have been living at Corinth, who remembered St. Paul's ministry there and the receipt of the epistle. The testimony is still more valuable, as it shows that the epistles were preserved in the churches to which they were sent, and that they were spread and propagated from them to the rest of the Christian community.

(ff) The name of Hermas ought to be removed into the second list, as there is no reasonable doubt that the " Shepherd of Hermas " was written about the middle of the second century.

* See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 22.

Agreeably to which natural mode and order of their publication, Tertullian, a century afterwards, for proof of the integrity and genuineness of the apostolic writings, bids "any one, who is willing to exercise his curiosity profitably in the business of their salvation, to visit the apostolical churches, in which their very authentic letters are recited, *ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur.*" Then he goes on: "Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus; but if you are near to Italy, you have Rome." * I adduce this passage to show, that the distinct churches or Christian societies, to which St. Paul's epistles were sent, subsisted for some ages afterwards; that his several epistles were all along respectively read in those churches; that Christians at large received them from those churches, and appealed to those churches for their originality and authenticity.

Arguing in like manner from citations and allusions, we have, within the space of a hundred and fifty years from the time that the first of St. Paul's epistles was written, proofs of almost all of them being read, in Palestine, Syria, the countries of Asia Minor, in Egypt, in that part of Africa which used the Latin tongue, in Greece, Italy, and Gaul.† I do not mean simply to assert, that within the space of a hundred and fifty years St. Paul's epistles were read in those countries, for I believe that they were read and circulated from the beginning; but that proofs of their being so read occur within that period. And when it is considered how few of the primitive Christians wrote, and of what was written how much is lost, we are to account it extraordinary, or rather as a sure proof of the extensiveness of the reputation of these writings, and of the general respect in which they were held, that so many testimonies, and of such antiquity, are still extant. "In the remaining works of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, there are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than of all the works of Cicero, in the writings of all characters for several ages."‡ We must add, that the epistles of Paul come in for their full share of this observation; and that all the thirteen epistles, except that to Philemon, which is not quoted by Irenæus or Clement, and which probably escaped notice merely by its

* Lardner, vol. ii. p. 598.

† See Lardner's Recapitulation, vol. xii. p. 53.

‡ Ibid.

brevity, are severally cited, and expressly recognised as St. Paul's by each of these Christian writers. The Ebionites, an early, though inconsiderable Christian sect, rejected St. Paul and his epistles;* that is, they rejected these epistles, not because they were not, but because they were St. Paul's; and because, adhering to the obligation of the Jewish law, they chose to dispute his doctrine and authority. Their suffrage as to the genuineness of the epistles does not contradict that of other Christians. Marcion, an heretical writer in the former part of the second century, is said by Tertullian to have rejected three of the epistles which we now receive, namely, the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. It appears to me not improbable, that Marcion might make some such distinction as this, that no apostolic epistle was to be admitted which was not read or attested by the church to which it was sent; for it is remarkable that, together with these epistles to private persons, he rejected also the catholic epistles. Now the catholic epistles and the epistles to private persons agree in the circumstance of wanting this particular species of attestation. Marcion, it seems, acknowledged the epistle to Philemon, and is upbraided for his inconsistency in doing so by Tertullian,† who asks, "Why, when he received a letter written to a single person, he should refuse two to Timothy and one to Titus, composed upon the affairs of the church?" This passage so far favours our account of Marcion's objection, as it shows that the objection was supposed by Tertullian to have been founded in something which belonged to the nature of a private letter.

Nothing of the works of Marcion remains. Probably he was, after all, a rash, arbitrary, licentious critic (if he deserved indeed the name of critic), and who offered no reason for his determination. What St. Jerome says of him intimates this, and is besides founded in good sense: speaking of him and Basilides, "If they assigned any reasons," says he, "why they did not reckon these epistles," namely, the first and second to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, "to be the apostle's, we would have endeavoured to have answered them, and perhaps might have satisfied the reader: but when they take upon them, by their own authority, to pronounce one epistle to be Paul's, and another not, they can only be replied to in the same manner."‡ Let it be remembered, however, that Mar-

* Lardner, vol. ii. p. 808.

† Vol. xiv. p. 455.

‡ Vol. xiv. p. 458.

cion received ten of these epistles. His authority, therefore, even if his credit had been better than it is, forms a very small exception to the uniformity of the evidence. Of Basilides we know still less than we do of Marcion. The same observation, however, belongs to him, namely, that his objection, as far as appears from this passage of St. Jerome, was confined to the three private epistles. Yet is this the only opinion which can be said to disturb the consent of the first two centuries of the Christian era: for as to Tatian, who is reported by Jerome alone to have rejected some of St. Paul's epistles, the extravagant or rather delirious notions into which he fell, take away all weight and credit from his judgment.—If, indeed, Jerome's account of this circumstance be correct; for it appears from much older writers than Jerome, that Tatian owned and used many of these epistles.*

II. They, who in those ages disputed about so many other points, agreed in acknowledging the Scriptures now before us. Contending sects appealed to them in their controversies, with equal and unreserved submission. When they were urged by one side, however they might be interpreted or misinterpreted by the other, their authority was not questioned. "*Reliqui omnes,*" says Irenæus, speaking of Marcion, "*falso scientiæ nomine inflati, Scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt.*" † (gg)

III. When the genuineness of some other writings which were in circulation, and even of a few which are now received into the canon, was contested, these were never called into dispute. Whatever was the objection, or whether in truth there ever was any real objection, to the authenticity of the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of James, or that of Jude, or to the book of the Revelation of St. John; the doubts that appear to have been entertained concerning them, exceedingly strengthen the force of the testimony as to those writings about which there was no doubt; because it shows, that the matter was a subject, amongst the early Christians, of examination and discussion; and that where there was any room to doubt, they did doubt.

What Eusebius hath left upon the subject is directly to the

* Lardner, vol. i. p. 313.

† Iren. *advers. Hæc.* quoted by Lardner, vol. xv. p. 425.

(gg) All the rest, inflated with a false pretence of knowledge, recognise the Scriptures, but wrest their interpretation.—Euseb.

purpose of this observation. Eusebius, it is well known, divided the ecclesiastical writings which were extant in his time into three classes; the "*αναντιρρήτα*, uncontradicted," as he calls them in one chapter, or, "Scriptures universally acknowledged," as he calls them in another; the "controverted, yet well known and approved by many;" and "the spurious." What were the shades of difference in the books of the second, or of those in the third class; or what it was precisely that he meant by the term *spurious*, it is not necessary in this place to inquire. It is sufficient for us to find, that the thirteen epistles of St. Paul are placed by him in the first class, without any sort of hesitation or doubt.

It is further also to be collected from the chapter in which this distinction is laid down, that the method made use of by Eusebius, and by the Christians of his time, namely, the close of the third century, in judging concerning the sacred authority of any books, was to inquire after and consider the testimony of those who lived near the age of the apostles.*

IV. That no ancient writing, which is attested as these epistles are, hath had its authenticity disproved, or is in fact questioned. The controversies which have been moved concerning suspected writings, as the epistles, for instance, of Phalaris, or the eighteen epistles of Cicero, begin by showing that this attestation is wanting. That being proved, the question is thrown back upon internal marks of spuriousness or authenticity; and in these the dispute is occupied. In which disputes it is to be observed, that the contested writings are commonly attacked by arguments drawn from some opposition which they betray to "authentic history," to "true epistles," to the "real sentiments or circumstances of the author whom they personate;"† which authentic history, which true epistles, which real sentiments themselves, are no other than ancient documents, whose early existence and reception can be proved, in the manner in which the writings before us are traced up to the age of their reputed author, or to ages near to his. A modern who sits down to compose the history of some ancient period, has no stronger evidence to appeal to for the most confident assertion, or the most undisputed fact that he de-

* Lardner, vol. viii. p. 106.

† See the tracts written in the controversy between Tunstal and Middleton, upon certain suspected epistles ascribed to Cicero.

livers, than writings whose genuineness is proved by the same medium through which we evince the authenticity of ours. Nor, whilst he can have recourse to such authorities as these, does he apprehend any uncertainty in his accounts, from the suspicion of spuriousness or imposture in his materials.

V. It cannot be shown that any forgeries, properly so called,* that is, writings published under the name of the person who did not compose them, made their appearance in the first century of the Christian era, in which century these epistles undoubtedly existed. I shall set down under this proposition the guarded words of Lardner himself: "There are no quotations of any books of them (spurious and apocryphal books) in the apostolical fathers, by whom I mean Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, whose writings reach from the year of our Lord 70 to the year 108. *I say this confidently, because I think it has been proved.*" Lardner, vol. xii. p. 158. (hh)

Nor when they did appear were they much used by the primitive Christians. "Irenæus quotes not any of these books. He mentions some of them, but he never quotes them. The same may be said of Tertullian: he has mentioned a book called 'Acts of Paul and Thecla;' but it is only to condemn it. Clement of Alexandria and Origen have mentioned and quoted several such books, but never as authority, and sometimes with express marks of dislike. Eusebius quoted no such books in any of his works. He has mentioned them, indeed, but how? Not by way of approbation, but to show that they were of little or no value, and that they never were received by the sounder part of Christians." Now, if with this, which is advanced after the most minute and diligent examination, we compare what the same cautious writer had before said of our received Scriptures, "that in the works of three only of the above-mentioned fathers, there are more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament than of all the works of Cicero in the writers of all characters for several ages;" and if with the marks of obscurity or con-

* I believe that there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lardner's observation, that comparatively few of those books which we call apocryphal were strictly and originally forgeries. See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 167.

(hh) Of the above writings, the epistle now styled, of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and even, as Mr. Cureton has rendered highly probable, all but three of the epistles of Ignatius, must be referred to the first half of the second century. Their silence, however, on this view is even more instructive.—Ed.

damnation, which accompanied the mention of the several apocryphal Christian writings, when they happened to be mentioned at all, we contrast what Dr. Lardner's work completely and in detail makes out concerning the writings which we defend, and what, having so made out, he thought himself authorized in his conclusion to assert, that these books were not only received from the beginning, but received with the greatest respect; have been publicly and solemnly read in the assemblies of Christians throughout the world, in every age from that time to this; early translated into the languages of divers countries and people; commentaries writ to explain and illustrate them; quoted by way of proof in all arguments of a religious nature; recommended to the perusal of unbelievers, as containing the authentic account of the Christian doctrine: when we attend, I say, to this representation, we perceive in it not only full proof of the early notoriety of these books, but a clear and sensible line of discrimination, which separates these from the pretensions of any others.

The epistles of St. Paul stand particularly free of any doubt or confusion that might arise from this source. Until the conclusion of the fourth century, no intimation appears of any attempt whatever being made to counterfeit these writings; and then it appears only of a single and obscure instance. Jerome, who flourished in the year 392, has this expression: "*Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses; sed ab omnibus exploditur,*" there is also an Epistle to the Laodiceans, but it is rejected by everybody.* Theodoret, who wrote in the year 423, speaks of this epistle in the same terms.† Beside these, I know not whether any ancient writer mentions it. It was certainly unnoticed during the first three centuries of the church; and when it came afterwards to be mentioned, it was mentioned only to show that, though such a writing did exist, it obtained no credit. It is probable that the forgery to which Jerome alludes, is the epistle which we now have under that title. If so, as hath been already observed, it is nothing more than a collection of sentences from the genuine epistles; and was perhaps, at first, rather the exercise of some idle pen, than any serious attempt to impose a forgery upon the public. Of an Epistle to the Corinthians under St. Paul's name, which was brought into

* Lardner, vol. x. p. 103.

† Ibid., vol. xi. p. 88.

Europe in the present century, antiquity is entirely silent. It was unheard of for sixteen centuries; and at this day, though it be extant, and was first found in the Armenian language, it is not, by the Christians of that country, received into their Scriptures. I hope, after this, that there is no reader who will think there is any competition of credit, or of external proof, between these and the received epistles; or, rather, who will not acknowledge the evidence of authenticity to be confirmed by the want of success which attended imposture.

When we take into our hands the letters which the suffrage and consent of antiquity hath thus transmitted to us, the first thing that strikes our attention is the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades the whole. Let the sceptic read them. If he be not sensible of these qualities in them, the argument can have no weight with him. If he be; if he perceive in almost every page the language of a mind actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances, I would wish it to be observed, that the proof which arises from this perception is not to be deemed occult or imaginary, because it is incapable of being drawn out in words, or of being conveyed to the apprehension of the reader in any other way than by sending him to the books themselves.

And here, in its proper place, comes in the argument which it has been the office of these pages to unfold. St. Paul's Epistles are connected with the history by their particularity, and by the numerous circumstances which are found in them. When we descend to an examination and comparison of these circumstances, we not only observe the history and the epistles to be independent documents unknown to, or at least unconsulted by, each other, but we find the substance, and oftentimes very minute articles, of the history, recognised in the epistles, by allusions and references, which can neither be imputed to *design*, nor, without a foundation in truth, be accounted for by accident; by hints and expressions, and single words, dropping as it were fortuitously from the pen of the writer, or drawn forth each by some occasion proper to the place in which it occurs, but widely removed from any view to consistency or agreement. These, we know, are effects which reality naturally produces, but which, without reality at the bottom, can hardly be conceived to exist.

When, therefore, with a body of external evidence which is relied upon, and which experience proves may safely be relied upon, in appreciating the credit of ancient writings, we combine characters of genuineness and originality which are not found, and which, in the nature and order of things, cannot be expected to be found, in spurious compositions; whatever difficulties we may meet with in other topics of the Christian evidence, we can have little in yielding our assent to the following conclusions: That there was such a person as St. Paul; that he lived in the age which we ascribe to him; that he went about preaching the religion of which Jesus Christ was the founder; and that the letters which we now read were actually written by him upon the subject, and in the course, of that his ministry.

And if it be true that we are in possession of the very letters which St. Paul wrote, let us consider what confirmation they afford to the Christian history. In my opinion they substantiate the whole transaction. The great object of modern research is to come at the epistolary correspondence of the times. Amidst the obscurities, the silence, or the contradictions of history, if a letter can be found, we regard it as the discovery of a landmark; as that by which we can correct, adjust, or supply the imperfections and uncertainties of other accounts. One cause of the superior credit which is attributed to letters is this, that the facts which they disclose generally come out *incidentally*, and therefore without design to mislead the public by false or exaggerated accounts. This reason may be applied to St. Paul's epistles with as much justice as to any letters whatever. Nothing could be further from the intention of the writer than to record any part of his history. That his history was *in fact* made public by these letters, and has by the same means been transmitted to future ages, is a secondary and unthought-of effect. The sincerity, therefore, of the apostle's declarations cannot reasonably be disputed; at least, we are sure that it was not vitiated by any desire of setting himself off to the public at large. But these letters form a part of the muniments of Christianity, as much to be valued for their contents as for their originality. A more inestimable treasure the care of antiquity could not have sent down to us. Beside the proof they afford of the general reality of St. Paul's history, of the knowledge which the

author of the Acts of the Apostles had obtained of that history, and the consequent probability that he was, what he professes himself to have been, a companion of the apostle's; beside the support they lend to these important inferences, they meet specially some of the principal objections upon which the adversaries of Christianity have thought proper to rely. In particular they show,

I. That Christianity was not a story set on foot amidst the confusions which attended and immediately preceded the destruction of Jerusalem; when many extravagant reports were circulated, when men's minds were broken by terror and distress, when amidst the tumults that surrounded them inquiry was impracticable. These letters show incontestably that the religion had fixed and established itself before this state of things took place.

II. Whereas it hath been insinuated that our gospels may have been made up of reports and stories which were current at the time, we may observe that, with respect to the epistles, this is impossible. A man cannot write the history of his own life from reports; nor, what is the same thing, be led by reports to refer to passages and transactions in which he states himself to have been immediately present and active. I do not allow that this insinuation is applied to the historical part of the New Testament with any colour of justice or probability; but I say, that to the epistles it is not applicable at all.

III. These letters prove that the converts to Christianity were not drawn from the barbarous, the mean, or the ignorant set of men which the representations of infidelity would sometimes make them. We learn from letters the character, not only of the writer, but, in some measure, of the persons to whom they are written. To suppose that these letters were addressed to a rude tribe, incapable of thought or reflection, is just as reasonable as to suppose Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding to have been written for the instruction of savages. Whatever may be thought of these letters in other respects, either of diction or argument, they are certainly removed as far as possible from the habits and comprehension of a barbarous people.

IV. St. Paul's history, I mean so much of it as may be collected from his letters, is so *implicated* with that of the

other apostles, and with the substance, indeed, of the Christian history itself, that I apprehend it will be found impossible to admit St. Paul's story (I do not speak of the miraculous part of it) to be true, and yet to reject the rest as fabulous. For instance, can any one believe that there was such a man as Paul, a preacher of Christianity, in the age which we assign to him, and *not* believe that there was also at the same time such a man as Peter, and James, and other apostles, who had been companions of Christ during his life, and who after his death published and avowed the same things concerning him which Paul taught? Judæa, and especially Jerusalem, was the scene of Christ's ministry. The witnesses of his miracles lived there. St. Paul, by his own account, as well as that of his historian, appears to have frequently visited that city; to have carried on a communication with the church there; to have associated with the rulers and elders of that church, who were some of them apostles; to have acted, as occasions offered, in correspondence, and sometimes in conjunction with them. Can it, after this, be doubted, but that the religion and the general facts relating to it, which St. Paul appears by his letters to have delivered to the several churches which he established at a distance, were at the same time taught and published at Jerusalem itself, the place where the business was transacted; and taught and published by those who had attended the founder of the institution in his miraculous, or pretendedly miraculous, ministry?

It is observable, for so it appears both in the epistles and from the Acts of the Apostles, that Jerusalem, and the society of believers in that city, long continued the centre from which the missionaries of the religion issued, with which all other churches maintained a correspondence and connexion, to which they referred their doubts, and to whose relief, in times of public distress, they remitted their charitable assistance. This observation I think material, because it proves that this was not the case of giving our accounts in one country of what is transacted in another, without affording the hearers an opportunity of knowing whether the things related were credited by any, or even published, in the place where they are reported to have passed.

V. St. Paul's letters furnish evidence (and what better evidence than a man's own letters can be desired?) of the

soundness and sobriety of his judgment. His caution in distinguishing between the occasional suggestions of inspiration, and the ordinary exercise of his natural understanding, is without example in the history of human enthusiasm. (ii) His morality is everywhere calm, pure, and rational; adapted to the condition, the activity, and the business of social life, and of its various relations; free from the over-scrupulousness and austerities of superstition, and from what was more perhaps to be apprehended, the abstractions of quietism, and the soarings and extravagancies of fanaticism. His judgment concerning a hesitating conscience; his opinion of the moral indifference of many actions, yet of the prudence and even the duty of compliance, where non-compliance would produce evil effects upon the minds of the persons who observed it, is as correct and just as the most liberal and enlightened moralist could form at this day. The accuracy of modern ethics has found nothing to amend in these determinations. (kk)

What lord Lyttelton has remarked of the preference ascribed by St. Paul to inward rectitude of principle above every other religious accomplishment is very material to our present purpose. "In his first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiii. 1-3, St. Paul has these words: *Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* Is this the language of enthusiasm? Did ever enthusiast prefer that universal benevolence which comprehendeth all moral virtues, and which, as appeareth by the following verses, is meant by charity here; did ever enthu-

(ii) This remark arises from a misinterpretation of two passages, 1 Cor. vii. 6, 25; 2 Cor. viii. 8. Yet the distinction really intended, between an inspired command, and simple advice or permission, implies equally the most complete self-possession, and accuracy of spiritual discrimination.

(kk) Modern ethics, at least as treated by Paley himself, instead of amending the morality of St. Paul's Epistles, have great need to be regenerated by an infusion of their spirit. How cold and empty does the "Moral Philosophy" appear by the side of 1 Cor. xiii., or Eph. iv. 5! The mainspring of the one is a purely selfish measurement of probable consequences; of the other, a certain faith in God's immeasurable love.

siast, I say, prefer that benevolence" (which, we may add, is attainable by every man) "to faith and to miracles, to those religious opinions which he had embraced, and to those supernatural graces and gifts which he imagined he had acquired; nay, even to the merit of martyrdom? Is it not the genius of enthusiasm to set moral virtues infinitely below the merit of faith; and of all moral virtues to value that least which is most particularly enforced by St. Paul, a spirit of candour, moderation, and peace? Certainly neither the temper nor the opinions of a man subject to fanatic delusions are to be found in this passage."—Lord Lyttelton's *Considerations on the Conversion*, etc.

I see no reason, therefore, to question the integrity of his understanding. To call him a visionary, because he appealed to visions; or an enthusiast, because he pretended to inspiration, is to take the whole question for granted. It is to take for granted that no such visions or inspirations existed; at least it is to assume, contrary to his own assertions, that he had no other proofs than these to offer of his mission, or of the truth of his relations.

One thing I allow, that his letters everywhere discover great zeal and earnestness in the cause in which he was engaged; that is to say, he was convinced of the truth of what he taught; he was deeply impressed, but not more so than the occasion merited, with a sense of its importance. This produces a corresponding animation and solicitude in the exercise of his ministry. But would not these considerations, supposing them to be well founded, have holden the same place, and produced the same effect, in a mind the strongest and the most sedate?

VI. These letters are decisive as to the sufferings of the author; also as to the distressed state of the Christian church, and the dangers which attended the preaching of the gospel.

"Whereof I Paul am made a minister; who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church," Col. i. 23, 24.

"If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable," 1 Cor. xv. 19.

"Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by

your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not?" 1 Cor. xv. 30-32.

"If children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us," Rom. viii. 17, 18.

"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter," Rom. viii. 35, 36.

"Rejoicing in hope; *patient in tribulation*; continuing instant in prayer," Rom. xii. 12.

"Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose, therefore, that this is good *for the present distress*; I say, that it is good for a man so to be," 1 Cor. vii. 25, 26.

"For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake; having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now hear to be in me," Phil. i. 29, 30.

"God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." "From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," Gal. vi. 14, 17.

"Ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost," 1 Thess. i. 6.

"We ourselves glory in you in the churches of God for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure," 2 Thess. i. 4.

We may seem to have accumulated texts unnecessarily; but beside that the point which they are brought to prove is of great importance, there is this also to be remarked in every one of the passages cited, that the allusion is drawn from the writer by the argument or the occasion; that the notice

which is taken of his sufferings, and of the suffering condition of Christianity, is perfectly incidental, and is dictated by no design of stating the facts themselves. Indeed they are not stated at all: they may rather be said to be assumed. This is a distinction upon which we have relied a good deal in former parts of this treatise; and, where the writer's information cannot be doubted, it always, in my opinion, adds greatly to the value and credit of the testimony.

If any reader require from the apostle more direct and explicit assertions of the same thing, he will receive full satisfaction in the following quotations:—

“Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness; in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness,” 2 Cor. xi. 23–27.

Can it be necessary to add more? “I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat; we are made as the filth of the earth, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day,” 1 Cor. iv. 9–13. I subjoin this passage to the former, because it extends to the other apostles of Christianity much of that which St. Paul declared concerning himself.

In the following quotations, the reference to the author's sufferings is accompanied with a specification of time and place, and with an appeal for the truth of what he declares to the knowledge of the persons whom he addresses: “Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, *as ye know, at Philippi*, we were bold in our God

to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention," 1 Thess. ii. 2.

"But *thou hast fully known* my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me *at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra*; what persecutions I endured: but out of them all the Lord delivered me," 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11.

I apprehend that to this point, as far as the testimony of St. Paul is credited, the evidence from his letters is complete and full. It appears under every form in which it could appear, by occasional allusions and by direct assertions, by general declarations and by specific examples.

VII. St. Paul in these letters asserts, in positive and unequivocal terms, his performance of miracles strictly and properly so called.

"He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles (*ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις*) among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" Gal. iii. 5.

"For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me,* to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders (*ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων*), by the power of the Spirit of God: so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ," Rom. xv. 18, 19.

"Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds," (*ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ δυνάμεσι*),† 2 Cor. xii. 12.

* That is, "I will speak of nothing but what Christ hath wrought by me;" or, as Grotius interprets it, "Christ hath wrought so great things by me, that I will not dare to say what he hath not wrought."

† To these may be added the following indirect allusions, which, though if they had stood alone, that is, without plainer texts in the same writings, they might have been accounted dubious; yet, when considered in conjunction with the passages already cited, can hardly receive any other interpretation than that which we give them.

"My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God," 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.

"The gospel, whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power," Ephes. iii. 6, 7.

"For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles," Gal. ii. 8.

"For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance," 1 Thess. i. 5.

These words, signs, wonders, and mighty deeds (*σημεῖα, καὶ τέρατα, καὶ δυνάμεις*) are the specific appropriate terms throughout the New Testament, employed when public sensible miracles are intended to be expressed. This will appear by consulting, amongst other places, the texts referred to in the note;* and it cannot be known that they are ever employed to express anything else.

Secondly, these words not only denote miracles as opposed to natural effects, but they denote visible, and what may be called external, miracles, as distinguished,

First, from *inspiration*. If St. Paul had meant to refer only to secret illuminations of his understanding, or secret influences upon his will or affections, he could not, with truth, have represented them as “signs and wonders wrought by him,” of “signs and wonders and mighty deeds wrought amongst them.”

Secondly, from *visions*. These would not, by any means, satisfy the force of the terms, “signs, wonders, and mighty deeds;” still less could they be said to be “wrought by him,” or, “wrought amongst them:” nor are these terms and expressions any where applied to visions. When our author alludes to the supernatural communications which he had received, either by vision or otherwise, he uses expressions suited to the nature of the subject, but very different from the words which we have quoted. He calls them revelations, but never signs, wonders, or mighty deeds. “I will come,” says he, “to visions and revelations of the Lord;” and then proceeds to describe a particular instance, and afterwards adds, “lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given me a thorn in the flesh.”

Upon the whole, the matter admits of no softening qualification, or ambiguity whatever. If St. Paul did not work actual, sensible, public miracles, he has knowingly, in these letters, borne his testimony to a falsehood. I need not add, that, in two also of the quotations, he has advanced his assertion in the face of those persons amongst whom he declares the miracles to have been wrought.

Let it be remembered that the Acts of the Apostles de-

* Mark xvi. 20. Luke xxiii. 8. John ii. 11-23; iii. 2; iv. 48-54; xi. 49. Acts ii. 22; iv. 3; v. 12; vi. 8; vii. 16; xiv. 3; xv. 12. Heb. ii. 4.

scribed various particular miracles wrought by St. Paul, which in their nature answer to the terms and expressions which we have seen to be used by St. Paul himself.

Here, then, we have a man of liberal attainments, and in other points of sound judgment, who had addicted his life to the service of the gospel. We see him, in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead; expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment and the same dangers, yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next; spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this course to old age, unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecutions; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death. Such was St. Paul. We have his letters in our hands; we have also a history purporting to be written by one of his fellow-travellers, and appearing, by a comparison with these letters, certainly to have been written by some person well acquainted with the transactions of his life. From the letters, as well as from the history, we gather not only the account which we have stated of *him*, but that he was one out of many who acted and suffered in the same manner; and that of those who did so, several had been the companions of Christ's ministry, the ocular witnesses, or pretending to be such, of his miracles, and of his resurrection. We moreover find this same person referring in his letters to his supernatural conversion, the particulars and accompanying circumstances of which are related in the history, and which accompanying circumstances, if all or any of them be true, render it impossible to have been a delusion. We also find him positively, and in appropriate terms, asserting that he himself worked miracles, strictly and properly so called, in support of the mission which he executed; the history, meanwhile, recording various passages of his ministry, which come up to the extent of this assertion. The question is, whether falsehood

was ever attested by evidence like this. Falsehoods, we know, have found their way into reports, into tradition, into books ; but is an example to be met with, of a man voluntarily undertaking a life of want and pain, of incessant fatigue, of continual peril ; submitting to the loss of his home and country, to stripes and stoning, to tedious imprisonment, and the constant expectation of a violent death, for the sake of carrying about a story of what was false, and of what, if false, he must have known to be so ?

HORÆ APOSTOLICÆ;

OR,

THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE external evidence, which proves the genuineness of nearly all the books of the New Testament, is far superior to that which attests almost every other work of the same antiquity. A chain of witnesses is continued from the first century down to the present day; while the publicity of the writings, the high importance attached to them, and their wide diffusion, have no parallel in the works of heathen literature. When the Son of God had come down from heaven, assumed our nature, and made atonement by his death for the sins of the world, it was fitting that the records of so stupendous a fact, the title-deeds of eternal life to those who believe, should have their authenticity confirmed by ample evidence. Accordingly, no other books, transmitted through so many ages, can offer such full proofs of their genuineness, as the writings of the New Testament.

But the faith of the Christian does not rest simply on this external testimony, however full and conclusive it may be. The word of God contains its own evidence. It exhibits, to the thoughtful and candid inquirer, internal proof that it reveals to us a genuine history, and that this history is the record of a Divine revelation.

In the *Horæ Paulinæ*, Dr. Paley has clearly *explained* the nature of that argument, to establish the genuineness of two or more separate works, which results from the undesigned coincidences between them, and has then applied it to the Book of Acts and St. Paul's Epistles. The work is perhaps

the most valuable of his writings, at once for the acuteness of observation which it displays, and the remarkable felicity of its reasoning. No one can read it, unless enslaved by some invincible prejudice, and not feel convinced that the letters are genuine, and the history, so far as it runs parallel with them, a true and faithful narrative.

It seems desirable that the same mode of reasoning should be extended still further, and applied, as far as the case will allow, to the whole of the New Testament. No argument is perhaps better adapted to convince gainsayers, or to establish the faith of plain and unlearned Christians. It is true that the Catholic Epistles, and even the book of Revelation, do not lend themselves easily to its application; since they proceed from four different writers, and are brief in extent, or nearly devoid of local and personal allusions. Even the four Gospels themselves present some difficulty if the argument is to retain a simple and popular form. Their resemblances and differences are so peculiar, and have been accounted for so variously, as to complicate and embarrass every argument, which rests on examples of *undesigned* agreement. It is certain that St. John would have seen the earlier gospels, and highly probable, at least, that St. Mark and St. Luke had seen that of St. Matthew. And hence it plainly becomes a delicate question, how far any particular coincidence can be shown to be, in the full sense of the word, unintentional and undesigned. In the present supplementary work, this branch of the subject is therefore confined, of necessity, within narrow limits; since its complete investigation would demand a distinct treatise, and the prosecution of some deep and difficult inquiries.

The argument, however, is by no means exhausted, within the limits thus assigned. The book of Acts, and the Epistles of St. Paul, yield a variety of additional evidence, besides those coincidences which the *Horæ Paulinæ* has developed with such ability. The genuineness and veracity of these books, thus doubly confirmed, supplies a clear and simple proof of several main particulars in the gospel history; while other coincidences in the Gospels themselves, even independent of those which would require a more profound investigation to complete this branch of the argument, and must carry a full conviction of their veracity and historical reality to any thoughtful mind.

The work of Paley conducts the argument to this point,

that the authenticity of St. Paul's thirteen letters is fully established, subject only to a doubt, in one instance, as to the right address; while the fidelity of the historian, at least in one main portion of the narrative, is also thoroughly proved. The present work, designed to complete his line of argument, will consist of three parts. **THE FIRST BOOK** will relate directly to St. Paul's epistles, including the Epistle to the Hebrews, and will trace those further coincidences of the letters with each other, or with the history, which may have been overlooked in the *Horæ Paulinæ*. Several questions which Paley has left undecided, will also receive a further discussion so as to increase the whole amount of internal evidence. It will be endeavoured, also, to fix the true place of those epistles which have been variously assigned by more recent authors. **THE SECOND BOOK** will relate to the book of Acts. Its aim will be to establish the truth of the narrative through its whole extent, from the coincidence of one part with another, and of the whole with the letters. **THE THIRD BOOK** will apply the argument to the four Gospels, in three distinct chapters. Of these the first will exhibit the testimony of the epistles, and the second, that of the book of Acts, to many leading facts recorded in the gospel history; while the third will present some of those internal coincidences, in the four Gospels themselves, compared with each other and the rest of the New Testament, which admit of being extricated from the controversies of harmonists, and exhibited in a clear and popular form. The full exhibition of their mutual harmony and historical evidence demands, from its importance, a distinct and more complete inquiry.

May He who is the Giver of all wisdom, prosper this humble attempt to illustrate the truth of his word, and to unfold some of its more hidden treasures! May He graciously cause it to minister to the conviction of doubting inquirers, the instruction of simple-hearted believers, the increase of Scriptural light in patient students of the inspired oracles, and the glory of that Divine Saviour, whose holy example, atoning sacrifice, and triumphant resurrection, are there so clearly revealed!

BOOK I.

THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

THE numerous coincidences, developed in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, are enough to place the authenticity of St. Paul's letters on a basis of evidence, quite impregnable. Yet since there are others which Paley has overlooked, and several points affecting the consistency of one with another, and of all with the history, which he has not determined; it is well to fill up and complete this first branch of the general inquiry, before the argument is applied to the rest of the New Testament.

In tracing this additional evidence, the order of time will be followed, so far as possible, and will lend some help towards a clear apprehension of the whole argument. The two Epistles to the Thessalonians will therefore claim the first place. Since they are short and intimately connected, they will be joined in one chapter. The *Horæ* contains six articles on the first, and three on the second letter. It is desirable that these should be read, immediately before the following chapter, and so in the other letters, in order to see the collective force of the whole argument.

CHAPTER I.

THE TWO EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

1 Thess. ii. 18. "Wherefore we would have come unto you, *even I, Paul*, once and again; but Satan hindered us."

These two letters are both of them written in the joint names of Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy, after St. Paul had been at Athens, and when Timothy had lately rejoined him a second time. Here we have a direct agreement with the history, which states that they preached the gospel together at Thessalonica, and met afterwards at Corinth. In the present verse, however, the apostle isolates himself from his two companions, and speaks simply in his own name. It is thus implied that Silvanus and Timothy had either stayed with the Thessalonians, or revisited them, when Paul was hindered from so doing.

Let us now compare the history, (Acts xvii. 10, 14, 16; xviii. 5). It states that Silas and Timothy stayed at Berea, when Paul left for Athens, and that they had a charge to come to him with speed. It adds that Paul waited for them at Athens, and that they rejoined him, some time later, at Corinth. The letter adds another fact, which relieves the seeming contradiction between the charge given them at parting, and their long delay; that Timothy did really arrive at Athens, and was sent again to Thessalonica. Silas, it is plain, either stayed in Macedonia, or returned to it also.

It thus appears, from this indirect comparison, that Timothy did revisit Thessalonica, and that Silvanus either revisited it, or remained in the neighbourhood, during the very interval to which the above statement refers. The words, therefore, could apply only to St. Paul himself, and not to his companions. Yet how evidently undesigned is this coincidence. It is marked in the briefest manner possible by the insertion of three words (*ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος*) without further comment or explanation. The correction is quite incidental, while the mind of the writer clearly rests on his main subject, his own deep yearning of love towards the young converts of Thessalonica.

But we may trace a coincidence, still more minute. The letter implies that there were two occasions, when his desire to revisit them was peculiarly strong, and special hindrances stood in the way; and that both of these were previous to the mission of Timothy from Athens.

The history supplies a probable key to this remark also. It was Jews from Thessalonica by whom Paul was driven from Berea, when the brethren conducted him to the sea. In the certainty that these bitter adversaries would return to their own city, and renew their persecution of his young converts, he must have felt a strong desire at that time to revisit them and confirm their faith. Again, when Timothy reached him at Athens, and reported the continuance of those persecutions, the desire would revive with increased intensity. Still, however, there were powerful motives, which prevented his return. On this second disappointment, however, he "could no longer forbear," but sent Timothy back to them once again. We have thus a natural explanation of the statement, that "once and again" he had specially sought to revisit them, and found it impossible.

No. II.

1 Thess. ii. 2. "But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, *as ye know*, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention."

1 Thess. iii. 4. "For verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer persecution; even as it came to pass, *and ye know*."

There is here a direct allusion to the persecutions at Philippi and Thessalonica, recorded in the history. It is the peculiar nature of this reference which furnishes a mark of reality. No details are offered, but the Thessalonians are simply referred to their own previous knowledge of the circumstances. The facts, assumed to be notorious, are made the ground of a double appeal; in the first case, to confirm the sincerity, and in the other, to prove the foresight and honesty of the apostle, who warned them of these troubles before they came. This is exactly what would be likely to occur in a real letter, while a forgery would have probably overlooked the actual knowledge of the Thessalonians, and given us a detailed repetition of the history.

No. III.

1 Thess. ii. 15, 16. "Who both killed the Lord Jesus Christ, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alway."

No one can fail to remark a tone of peculiar earnestness and holy indignation, in this catalogue, which Paul gives, of the sins of the Jews. The fact of their constant opposition to the spread of the gospel among the Gentiles, runs through the whole history, and might therefore have been possibly embodied, even in a forged letter. But the tone of the passage, without asserting, seems to imply, a peculiarly vivid sense of their guilt on the mind of the apostle at this time.

Let us now compare the history. The letter was written soon after Timothy reached the apostle at Corinth. What was the state of things in that city?

"And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the Jews

that Jesus was Christ. And when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them, Your blood be upon your own heads ; I am clean : from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles."

What commentary on the words in the letter, where the sins of the Jews are exposed, could be more satisfactory and complete ? Yet the coincidence is indirect, between the probable intensity of the apostle's feelings at such a time, and the almost passionate earnestness of his denunciation.

No. IV.

1 Thess. iii. 6, 7. " But now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us, as we also to see you : therefore, brethren, we were comforted over you, in all our affliction and distress by your faith."

With these words let us compare the same passage, Acts xviii. 5, observing that the best editions read, instead of " Paul was pressed in the spirit (*πνέυκαρι*)," " Paul was pressed by their report (*τῷ λόγῳ*). " The time in both places is the same, soon after the return of Timothy to Corinth. In both the apostle is described as powerfully affected by the message he received. Yet there is a diversity which proves that they are no copies. Silas and Timothy are both mentioned in the narrative, but only Timothy in the letter. The joy of St. Paul is mentioned in the one, in the other his feelings of sorrow. One dwells on his inward emotion towards the Macedonian converts, the other on his outward conduct to the Jews of Corinth. This is the indirect and beautiful harmony of a real letter with a genuine history. For the report of Timothy must have awakened both joy and sorrow—joy for the constancy of the Thessalonian converts, and sorrow for the impenitence and persevering hostility of the Macedonian Jews. In writing to those converts, it was natural that St. Paul should dwell chiefly on the joy which the report of Timothy had awakened, from their steadfastness under suffering ; but the historian, just as naturally, dwells on the immediate result of his sorrow, in a more earnest testimony than ever to the Jews at Corinth. " Paul was pressed by their report, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ."

No. V.

1 Thess. iv. 11. "And that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, *as we commanded you.*"

2 Thess. iii. 10-12, 14. "For even when we were with you, *this we commanded you*, that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly (*ἀτάκτως*) working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.—And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed."

In both letters we have the same thing affirmed, that St. Paul, before he left Thessalonica, had given the converts a strict charge to work with their own hands. Yet there is a marked difference between the two passages. In the first letter, he repeats his command in general terms, and rather implies than asserts their partial neglect of it. When he urges the duty of brotherly love, he also praises them for fulfilling it already. "And indeed ye do it, . . . but we beseech you to abound more and more." When he proceeds to enforce industry, though he refrains from direct censure, there is no similar commendation. In the next chapter, amidst several general instructions, he implies more clearly that some were neglecting this duty, by the brief caution, "warn the disorderly." In the second epistle the tone is different. The same command is repeated once more, with an authority that resembles sternness. The disobedience of some among them is distinctly affirmed. The duty of industry is enforced at length, and instructions are given how to treat any one who should persevere in this fault. "Note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed."

How can this difference be explained? Simply by the facts themselves. At the time of the first letter, he had just learned their state from Timothy; and though signs of the evil had appeared, amidst such causes of joy for their fidelity under persecution, he contents himself with a general and indirect admonition. Since then, messengers who carried the first letter had brought later intelligence. The evil had

increased, and even his own letter seems to have been one occasion of its growth; since they had been "shaken in mind, and troubled" by a false impression that the day of Christ was close at hand. Hence the greater urgency of the exhortation in the second letter.

This incidental agreement, in the fact of St. Paul's admonition while at Thessalonica, and this diversity and contrast of tone between the second and third repetition of the command, form a clear token that the letters are authentic, and founded in each instance on the actual wants of the Thessalonian church.

It is worth observing, that while St. Paul gave these earnest admonitions, the history proves that he enforced them by a bright example. "Because he was of the same craft" with Aquila and Priscilla, "he abode with them, and wrought: for by their occupation they were tent-makers," Acts xviii. 3.

CHAPTER II.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

THERE is no epistle, on the date of which there has been so great a diversity of opinion, as on this Epistle to the Galatians. Some have placed it as early as St. Paul's residence at Antioch, before his journey with Silas; while Theodoret and the Subscription place it after his imprisonment, during his stay at Rome. Michaelis supposes it to be written from Thessalonica on his first visit, with whom Canon Tate agrees; Dr. Benson and Lardner a little later, during his stay at Corinth; Capellus, Witsius, Bishop Pearson, and Dr. Burton, during his abode at Ephesus; others after leaving Ephesus, in Macedonia; and others again on his return from Corinth. It is desirable, then, to delay this inquiry, till those coincidences have been considered, which are less open to dispute.

The book of Acts records two visits of Paul to Galatia, xvi. 6, xviii. 23. The former was on his route from Antioch, before he entered Europe; and the latter, after his return to Jerusalem and Antioch, before his abode of two years at Ephesus. The object of the latter visit was to confirm and strengthen the disciples. It is certain that the letter was written after the former visit; but whether before or after the

second, is a controverted question, which will be examined at the close of the chapter. A question still more vital to the present argument, is the reference of the journey, Gal. ii. 1; whether it was the visit to the council, in Acts xv., or some earlier or later visit to Jerusalem.

No. I.

Gal. i. 18. "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter; and abode with him fifteen days."

Paley has remarked the seeming incongruity between this statement and the passage in Acts ix. 28, and the indirect manner in which they are reconciled by the statement in Acts xxii. 17, 21, where St. Paul himself explains the shortness of his visit. In this comparison it is assumed, however, that the same visit is referred to in the letter and in the public apology. Mr. Biley, in his valuable Supplement, has questioned their identity, and endeavoured to show that St. Paul refers there to his second visit, Acts xi., which was also of short duration. Dr. Lardner adopts the same view.

Now this very doubt is enough to show that, in either case, the reference was spontaneous, and not for an artificial purpose. But a closer view of the text will establish Paley's opinion, and leave the coincidence he has pointed out, which is very curious and indirect, its entire weight in the proof of authenticity.

After mentioning the recovery of his sight, the apostle continues his narrative in these words: "And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance; and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles."

There are several things in this statement which prove that the apostle refers to his first visit. It was then only that he "returned back" (*ὑποστρέψαντι*) from that absence, which he has described just before; and the journey to Damascus, and the return *from* Damascus, are here in evident contrast.

The other return was from quite a different place. It was not properly a return at all, but a journey, from which he *returned* to Antioch, his actual abode. (Acts xii. 25.)

Again, the apostle is explaining why he did not labour at home among his own countrymen, but at a distance among the Gentiles. It was the most natural and simple answer, that he had desired so to do, as soon as the Lord had appeared to him, and had been charged by a vision to depart. But this would be no apology for his first long absence, if the account refers to the second visit. The emphasis of his defence will then be lost.

Again, the vision must have been at some visit, when the apostle was bearing an actual testimony to the Jews, with some clear proofs of their rejection of the message. But this applies only to the first visit, when "he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians, but they went about to slay him." Nothing similar appears on the second visit. Its express object was not to preach the gospel, but to convey a contribution, and the apostles seem to have confined themselves to this immediate duty. When James was martyred, and Peter was in prison with the prospect of death, it was not a likely hour for one still more hated to begin a public testimony, and no hint of it occurs.

Lastly, the appeal of St. Paul to the notoriety of his former conduct as a persecutor, and to its probable effect on the minds of the Jews, in giving power to his message, would be far more natural and striking after an interval of three, than of six or seven years. On all accounts, therefore, the view of Paley is just, and the coincidence which he has founded upon it is beautiful and impressive.

No. II.

Gal. i. 19. "But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."

There is here a minute feature of historical consistency, which Paley has not noticed. The apostle James is named three times in the letter, but only here with this distinctive title. The history supplies a full key. For this visit is evidently the same as in Acts ix. 26-30, while the one in the next chapter was much later, at or near the time of the council, Acts xv. Hence the first was before the death of James the son of Zebedee, and the other long after it. A

distinctive addition to the name was thus as natural in the one case, as it would be superfluous and even suspicious in the other.

The same distinction is observed in the book of Acts. In the earlier part, each has his own title, the brother of John, or the son of Alpheus. But after the elder James was martyred, the other is three times called James simply, without any addition. This minute propriety is too delicate and refined to be easily accounted for, except by the fact that Luke and Paul were contemporary with the events they record.

There is another coincidence in the present verse, and it reconciles the previous statement with the history. St. Paul has told us that he went up to see St. Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. The historian tells us, that Barnabas took him, and brought him to the *apostles*. Now, the statements, if completed here, would be opposite; but when we learn that he met with a second apostle, though it were one only, they are reconciled; since the plural term requires more than one apostle to have been present, but cannot with certainty imply a still greater number. It is true, that the history represents most or all of the apostles to have been at Jerusalem, about the time of Saul's conversion, when Peter and John were sent down to Samaria; but the letter teaches us, what we do not learn from the history, that there was an interval of at least three years; and in the next verses it exhibits Peter on a kind of circuit in Judæa. There is thus nothing improbable in the absence of the other ten apostles during those fifteen days. Indeed, the circuit of Peter just afterwards, and the mention of James as the only other apostle present, seems to imply that his designation to a special charge over the mother church had now taken place, and that the others had begun to leave Jerusalem, agreeably with our Lord's own instructions, not long after the martyrdom of Stephen, and the persecution which followed.

No. III

Gal. i. 21-24. "Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia: and was (continued) unknown by face to the churches of Judæa which were in Christ: but they had heard only, (kept hearing, ἀκούοντες ἡσαν) That he which persecuted

us in times past, now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me."

In No. II. 4, on this epistle, Paley observes, that "there is a difficulty in this passage, which is removed by the supposition of a land journey from Cæsarea to Tarsus. The passage has little significance, and the connexion is inexplicable unless St. Paul went through Judæa (though, probably, by a hasty journey) at the time when he came into Syria and Cilicia." He would then "come into those regions in the very order in which he mentions them in the epistle."

These remarks are certainly groundless. The apostle clearly does not refer exclusively or mainly to the few days of his journey, but to his stated residence for many years. Syria is named before Cilicia, perhaps because Antioch was a more important place than Tarsus, and his stay there was so much longer. On the other hand, it is quite evident from the book of Acts that he went by sea. The brethren conducted him to Cæsarea because it was the main sea-port, and that he might escape as quickly as possible from the malice of the Jews. He would therefore, no doubt, embark at once for Tarsus. The connexion in the above passage is clearer than on the hypothesis of a land journey; since his voyage would help to explain the fact that he was personally unknown to the great body of the Jewish Christians. It is probable that a more careful notice of the tenses in the original would have preserved Paley and others from this unnatural and useless conjecture.

But the passage has a more serious difficulty:—why the apostle should pass by in total silence his visit described in Acts xi. For although some have fancied this to be the same with Gal. ii. 1, it is quite clear that their view is untenable. Every feature of the two visits, in the motive and the results, is entirely different. How, then, could he pass over this visit, without being guilty of a partial collusion, since it seems to interfere with his course of reasoning?

If now we examine the account of that visit closely, the difficulty will be removed. It was for a limited and special object, to convey the alms of the church from Antioch to Jerusalem. It concurred with a severe persecution, when James was martyred, and Peter kept in prison, and even after his deliverance obliged to conceal himself by retirement. The words of Acts xii. 17 seem to imply that James, the Lord's

brother, was the only apostle then in Jerusalem. We are told that "Barnabas and Saul returned when they had fulfilled their ministry," which could occupy them only a few days. The public assemblies of the believers at Jerusalem would be suspended while this persecution continued; most of them dispersed, perhaps, throughout Judæa. Very few of them could, therefore, see the apostle face to face, and no public question could be raised which would affect his authority. It was, therefore, quite natural that he should pass over this visit, since his object was not to give a full biography, but simply enough of detail to prove his separate commission.

No. IV.

Gal. ii. 1-9. "Then, after fourteen years, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, and privately to them of reputation, lest by any means I should run or had run in vain. But not even Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised. Now it was because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, and to bring us into bondage: to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you. But from those who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me, God accepteth no man's person); for they who seemed to be somewhat, in conference added nothing unto me. But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision unto Peter (for he that wrought mightily in Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision, the same wrought mightily in me also towards the Gentiles): And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the heathen, and they to the circumcision."

The corrections of the received version, in this passage, are either self-evident, or will be discussed in the course of the article.

This journey is usually held to be the same as in Acts xv., when Paul and Barnabas went up to the council at Jerusalem,

Three other views, however, have been maintained; that it was the visit in Acts xi., as Mr. Browne in the *Ordo Sæclorum*; the visit in Acts xviii., as in Greswell's *Dissertations*; and a private visit, not mentioned in Acts, a little before the council, to which view Paley himself inclines, adopted also by Canon Tate in his *Continuous History of St. Paul*.

The most usual view, that the visit is the same as in Acts xv. is confirmed by several features of strong resemblance. On the other hand, the apparent discrepancies are so considerable, as to have disposed Paley and several others to an opposite opinion, that the visit in the letter was distinct, and somewhat earlier. This hesitation makes it clear, at the least, that the two accounts were not purposely fitted to each other. Now if, without straining either narrative, the discrepancies can be removed, and new points of agreement detected which are below the surface, the passage will become a most powerful evidence that the history is faithful, and the letter genuine.

1. The points of direct agreement are important. The time, at a rough estimate, would seem nearly to correspond. Fourteen years is an adequate, but not an excessive allowance for the interval from Acts ix. 21, to xv. 1-4. In each case, Paul and Barnabas journey together, with one or more companions. The occasion of the journey in Acts is the discord produced by the arrival of Judaizing teachers at Antioch. In the epistle, it is because of false brethren unawares brought in, who come in privily to spy out the liberty of the Gentile converts. In each case, Paul and Barnabas confer with Peter and James, and the result is a direct and public testimony to their faithfulness. In each narrative, James and Peter are foremost in the conference on the part of the church at Jerusalem. The renewed mission of Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles is implied in the one, and openly expressed in the other. With so many features common to both, it is difficult to believe that the visits are not the same.

2. The first apparent difference is in the companions of the journey. In the Acts "certain other brethren" attend Paul and Barnabas, while only Titus is named in the letter. But there is here no real contrast. There is a plain reason in the letter why Titus is named, and one which applies to him exclusively; but nothing forbids us to suppose that there were several others also. It is one mark of the history not

being derived from the letters, that Titus is never once named in its whole course.

3. The epistle states, that Paul went up by revelation ; in the Acts, he is said to have been sent by the church at Antioch. Paley, who slights the former difficulty, and with much reason, views this as one of great weight. Yet surely it is soon removed. We are told, in Acts, that before the journey was resolved upon, there had been much disputation. What would be more natural than a revelation to St. Paul, suggesting this journey, and then a deliberate assent of the church, on the proposal being made ? Or, again, if the first proposal came from others, what more natural than for St. Paul to resist a plan, which might seem to compromise his authority ; until he was taught by a distinct revelation that it was the will of God, and that the result would be to confirm the peace of the church, and sustain the purity of the gospel ?

4. Another difficulty is found in the words, " but privately to them of reputation." How could he communicate privately what was the professed object of a public message ? Here a reference to the text, or even to the margin, removes the difficulty, and suggests a better version : " and severally to them of reputation." The apostle first declares, " I communicated to *them*," namely, to the churches of Judæa, the gospel which he preached, and then adds a further statement, that he also explained it individually, and in private conversation, to the main pillars of the church, or the three leading apostles ; so that they might come to the public discussion with an accurate knowledge of the facts, and previous meditation on the great question at issue.

On this view, which results naturally from the very force of the words, the supposed contradiction becomes a proof that the visit was the same, and reveals an undesigned coincidence. For when was it so likely that the apostle would use this diligence in explaining his doctrine and his practice, as on the eve of that eventful council, when a right decision was so vital to the welfare of the whole church ? Nay, more, on reading the history, it is clear that Peter and James were prepared to second St. Paul with the full weight of their authority, and even probable that they had agreed how to encounter most effectually the strong tide of Jewish prejudice. After much discussion by those of lower rank in the church, Peter utters a few pointed and decisive words, in which he refers to

his own part in the call of Cornelius, and reasons from the gift of the Holy Ghost then bestowed. The multitude being now stilled, give an attentive audience to Paul and Barnabas, while they report the wonders and signs God has wrought by them among the Gentiles. When their narrative has had its full effect, James arises, and joins the statement of Peter with those of the prophets, so as to be the basis of a final decision, in which, however, he tempers the great principle of Gentile liberty by a wise and limited respect to the habits and prejudices of the Jews. If they had concerted how and when to speak, so as to surmount the difficulty from the number of less enlightened elders, they could not have adopted a more suitable plan. And hence the statement of the letter is really a key which explains the details of the history.

5. The main difficulty still remains. If the visits were the same, why is St. Paul entirely silent respecting the council and the decree?

Now, first, since the letter was plainly much later than the council, the silence equally needs explanation, if the visits were different. The remarks of Paley, to account for it on the hypothesis of two journeys, apply with almost equal force, if the journeys were the same.

The full solution of this difficulty is probably rather different. It is almost certain that the Galatian churches would receive copies of the decree, along with the preaching of the apostle, and before he parted from them. And hence it must be highly probable that the false teachers, whose views it opposed, would give a garbled statement respecting the council itself, so as to evade the force of the decree, and undermine St. Paul's authority. They alleged, it is plain, that he was no apostle, but a teacher of inferior rank, and hence that he had submitted his doctrine to the judgment of those who were apostles indeed. They would probably remark, that the decree gave him no such title, that the liberty it gave was a special indulgence to the weakness of the Syrian and Cilician believers; but that St. Paul himself on some occasions preached and practised circumcision, and that the usage of the twelve and of the Jewish churches was the only true standard of Christian perfection; though local indulgence might be granted to the weakness of Gentile converts, of low attainments in the faith.

By this probable supposition every statement in the epistle

is fully explained. St. Paul, in the first place, proves the independent source of his authority, from a direct revelation of Christ; and its independent exercise, for three years, before he had seen one of the apostles, and for fourteen, in almost entire separation from the churches of Judæa. He then places his visit at the time of the council in its true light, since it had been misrepresented by the false teachers. It was not until fourteen years after he had begun to exercise the office of an apostle. It was from no sense of inferiority to the other apostles, nor in dependence upon their decision, but in obedience to an immediate and Divine revelation. He had private as well as public intercourse with the chief apostles, and his doctrine and practice had their full approval. It was admitted, not only in theory but in practice, as was proved evidently by the case of Titus, his companion. The reason for the visit was no doubt in the apostle's own mind, but simply the entrance of false brethren, and that they might be deprived of every pretence for their corruption of the gospel. Instead of borrowing from the other apostles, the most eminent among them, when he conferred with them, added nothing to his message. They even recognised in him a commission to the Gentiles, similar in authority and dignity with their own to the circumcision, and their only admonition, to remember the poor, had been anticipated in his own practice.

On this view of the argument, all is fully reconciled. The statement of St. Paul, in which he rectifies the garbled account of the false teachers, becomes naturally a supplement to the direct narrative, since its object is to detail those circumstances of the visit, which were not of the same notoriety with the decree itself. The harmony of the two passages, when thus explained, and the complete solution of difficulties, so formidable at first sight, becomes a strong evidence for the genuineness of the letter, and the truth of the history.

No. V.

Gal. ii. 10. "Only they would that we should remember the poor, the same which I also was forward to do."

In the direct narrative of the council, no allusion to this subject appears. Indeed the history, by its silence, would almost seem to contradict the statement of the letter. After the council, we read of a journey through Syria and Cilicia, through Lycaonia, through Galatia and Phrygia, of St. Paul's

entrance into Europe, with details of his labours at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth, and still no trace of this forwardness, and no syllable relating to the poor in Judæa. We have then his call at Ephesus, his circuit by Jerusalem and Antioch, his second visit to Galatia and Phrygia, and his long abode at Ephesus; then a journey through Macedonia to Corinth, and again from Corinth, by Philippi and Troas, to Miletus and Jerusalem, and not one word on this subject. At length, in the third defence of the apostle, before Felix, one short sentence appears incidentally, and turns the contrast into a plain coincidence. "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings."

This brief notice is all that we find in the history. It is enough to explain the truth of the statement in the letter, but far too brief and transient, to be ascribed to the design of producing a conformity. But the other epistles amply supply the rest. We have only to read Rom. xv., 1 Cor. xvi., and 2 Cor. viii. ix., to see the truth of St. Paul's assertion, that he was forward to remember the poor saints at Jerusalem, abundantly confirmed.

No. VI.

Gal. iii. 2, 5. "This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? . . . He therefore that ministered to you the Spirit, and wrought miracles among you, *did he* it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"

It is here implied (though the expression is so brief and general that its meaning might easily be overlooked) that the Galatians had received the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, that St. Paul was the person by whom they had received them, and that he had wrought direct miracles among them. There can be no real doubt that the passage should be rendered, as above, by the imperfect tense, and not the present, and that St. Paul alludes to the time of his visit, when these gifts had been imparted, and these miraculous powers exercised.

Now this may be called an indirect coincidence, for the history passes over that visit in three words, without the least allusion to the fact of such miracles, or the impartation of such gifts. Yet the next chapter after his second visit mentions both of these things at Ephesus, the bestowment of the gifts, and miracles, and mentions them in such a manner as evidently

implies their occurrence in the other scenes of his labours. The history does not assert the fact in Galatia, but assumes it as usual, in the narrative of events at Ephesus. The letter does not pause to assert it, but reasons from it as previously known.

No. VII.

Gal. i. 6. "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel."

These words introduce us to a very controverted and difficult subject, the date of the letter. A decision on this point is not essential to the previous coincidences; but still, if attainable, it must be a further help to our apprehension of the apostle's argument, and deepen the impression of authenticity.

The first visit to Galatia is mentioned Acts xvi. 6, after Paul and Silas had left Antioch, and before their visit to Europe. The second was between two and three years later, after the return of Paul from Corinth to Jerusalem and Antioch, and before his stay at Ephesus for nearly three years. Macknight would place the epistle before the first of these visits, assuming that Galatia was evangelized by Paul and Barnabas on their former circuit. The only pretext for this opinion is in Acts xiv. 6, where they are said to have preached in Lystra and Derbe, and the region round about. These towns, however, lie further from Galatia than Iconium, and hence their position excludes the idea that any part of Galatia was then evangelized. Hence the letter was certainly later than the visit in Acts xvi., when those churches were really founded.

It is harder to decide whether it was before or after the second visit in Acts xviii. Michaelis, Benson, Lardner, • Tate, place it before, and Paley seems to favour this view. Tertullian and Epiphanius adopt it among earlier writers. On the other hand, Capellus, Witsius, Wall, Lightfoot, Grotius, Pearson, Dr. Mill, Professor Hug, and more recently Dr. Burton, Mr. Greswell and Mr. Biley, all place it after the second visit, whether at Ephesus, in Macedonia, at Corinth or Troas, or even as Lightfoot, Theodoret, and the Subscription during the residence at Rome. Michaelis and Tate, who refer it to the interval of the two visits, date it from Thessalonica, but Benson and Lardner somewhat later, from Corinth. We shall

find, if I mistake not, that this last opinion is the only one which is really tenable.

And first, the above passage naturally implies that their declension had followed quickly after their first calling, and that no intermediate visit had occurred; for in this case it seems hardly possible that the apostle should not allude to it, and speak of his having confirmed them in the faith, as well as called them. Any time before his second visit would be short enough to explain the expression, or even a longer interval; but if a second visit had occurred, the chief aggravation of their sin would be in the circumstance, to which no allusion is made, that, even after repeated instructions, they were turning aside from the faith.

Another passage (iv. 18.) is perhaps a still stronger argument for this view. "But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you." If they had persevered in the faith during three years of his first absence, and only turned aside after his second visit, the point of this appeal is lost. They could not then be truly charged with adhering to the truth only when he was present. But if their decline had begun immediately after he left them to preach the gospel in Europe, and the letter was written before his return to them, the reproof will be strictly applicable to their real conduct. For his first absence was longer than both his visits, and they would have obeyed longer in his absence than in his presence, unless their departure from the faith began during the interval, and the reproof was addressed to them at that time. This argument seems to me almost decisive of the whole question.

The chief ground of the opposite view, as maintained by Dr. Benson, Professor Hug, Dr. Burton, Mr. Greswell, and Mr. Biley, is taken from the passage Gal. iv. 13, "Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first." (*τὸ πρῶτον*). They argue that this comparative implies two visits, and that the earlier of these is specified in contrast with the second.

This interpretation, though Professor Hug, Dr. Burton, and Mr. Greswell, all speak of it as clear and plain, has no real solidity whatever. It is true that the word implies a comparison of two different points of time, but it is equally true that one of these may be the time present and not that of a second visit. The other passages where it occurs are these:

John vi. 62, "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was *before*?" vii. 51, "Doth our law judge any man, *before* it hear him?" 2 Cor. i. 15, "In this confidence I was minded to come unto you *before*, that ye might have a second benefit." 1 Tim. i. 13, "Who was *before* a blasphemer." Heb. iv. 6, "They to whom it was *first* preached entered not in because of unbelief." vii. 27, "Who needeth not to offer up sacrifice, *first* for his own sins, and then for the people's." x. 32, "Call to remembrance the *former* days." In all these places, the comparison is with the present time, except in 2 Cor. i. 15, and even there the meaning is ambiguous. St. Paul may, perhaps, mean that his purpose was to have paid his visit earlier, in order to have time for a second one, in which case this passage would agree with all the others. It is clear, at the least, that the word *τὸ πρότερον* can never prove a second visit, but may imply simply that the visit alluded to was some time before he wrote, and thus be paraphrased, "at that former time when I was with you."

In fact, this very passage, when closely examined, tends to disprove a second visit. Hug explains it thus, that at the first visit Paul had allowed for human frailty, (*δι' ἀσθένειαν σαρκὸς*) for the sake of not giving offence by severer doctrines, but at the latter had plainly stated the abolition or unprofitableness of the Jewish law, upon which they became hostilely inclined to him. But no hypothesis can be more groundless or more derogatory to the apostle. The whole scope of the letter implies that the alteration was in the state of the Galatians, and not in the tenor of his preaching. How futile on such a view, the solemn adjuration in the first chapter: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." The exposition of the "infirmity of the flesh" thus offered is also absurd; it evidently denotes some bodily infirmity under which he laboured, and which had not prevented the Galatians from showing him the utmost reverence. The view of it which Hug suggests is flatly opposed to the words which follow. On the other hand, the whole passage is silent about any other visit, which the apostle could hardly have failed to mention, if such had occurred. His plain object is to contrast their zealous love while he was present, with their comparative coldness, now that he was absent, and not to contrast his mode of preaching

at a first and a second visit, which the other construction of τὸ πρότερον requires us to suppose. We have no room to doubt that the same infirmity of the flesh attended him on both visits, since it continued still later, when he wrote the second letter to Corinth. How then could he make it a distinctive feature of the former visit only?

Why, then, does he use the comparative at all? It is accounted for, I think, by the previous verse, which should be translated as follows, "Brethren, I beseech you be as I am, for I *was* as ye are, ye have not injured me at all." "You have not done injustice to my natural character, when you charge me with a self-righteous trust in the law; I was once ignorant of God, and therefore self-righteous, as you were before you heard the gospel. My state by nature was no better than yours; cleave then like me to the free grace of the gospel." There is thus a reference backward to his *first* state before his conversion, and hence the reference to a much later time, when he preached in Galatia, is accurately expressed by the comparative. It was the former time compared with the present, but not the earliest then under comparison. The misconstruction of the word being removed, the whole context points strongly to the conclusion that he had paid them one visit only; if otherwise, some distinct allusion to it was essential in this place.

Mr. Biley, however, proposes another argument, which seems to him conclusive for a later date. The general resemblance of this epistle and that of the Romans has often been remarked, and as some presumption, however slight, that they were composed near together; but he thinks that many traces of thought are similar to those in the second to the Corinthians, so as to prove that they were nearly synchronous, as Paley shows of the letters to Ephesus and Colosse. This is certainly a weighty presumption, if it can be fairly established. I would observe, however, in the first place, that such an argument loses much of its force, when the resemblance has to be shared between two different epistles. In the next place, the sameness of the doctrinal purpose would alone account for a great resemblance between the letters to the Galatians and the Romans; and the sameness of the practical object, the reproof of false teachers, for a similar conformity with the second to the Corinthians. Mr. Biley thinks the agreement too close to have sprung merely from

the somewhat similar treatment, which the state of the two churches required. Now it is thus admitted that the question is one of degree, and this can be tested in no better way than by the usual impression of readers. There is, perhaps, not one intelligent reader in a hundred, who has not noticed the close resemblance between the epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians; and not one in ten who has not observed a similar likeness between the first to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus. The resemblance between those to the Galatians and the Romans is also commonly observed; yet probably not one reader in ten, perhaps hardly one in a hundred, has suspected any special resemblance between that to Galatians and the second to the Corinthians. It must be quite plain, therefore, that it is by no means so strong as to form any true test of their relative date of composition. My own impression is, that there is just likeness enough to be explained by the similarity of the object, and no more. The plan and outline of the two epistles are altogether different. The resemblance is confined almost entirely to the third part of the longer letter, where St. Paul contends with the false teachers at Corinth, and although he enforces his claims as apostle in both, the style and order of his vindication is widely different. In the one to the Galatians there is no enumeration of his sufferings, no mention of his abundant revelations, no allusion to his forbearance in preaching the gospel freely. Nearly all the topics are different, though some allusions are common to them both.

Another presumption for the later date of the epistle has been sought in the statement (vi. 17), "From henceforth let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." But such an expression would be quite suitable after his sufferings at Philippi and Thessalonica, as well as after his later persecutions at Ephesus. If the allusion be to actual scars, which seems most probable, we have distinct mention of his being publicly scourged at Philippi, but not at Ephesus, nor for a long time after his second visit to Galatia. It is true that when he wrote the second time to Corinth, he mentions that he had been thrice beaten with rods, and one only out of the three instances is recorded in the history. Still the phrase appears to lend some countenance to the view, that the letter was written during the same journey when he was scourged and thrust into prison at Philippi. The marks would probably continue no little time. The words seem to imply

that these marks had been lately inflicted on him, since he had left Galatia; which agrees perfectly with a date, either at Thessalonica or Corinth.

If now we examine the whole epistle, we find an entire silence about a second visit. The drift of the whole is, that he had called them to the grace of Christ, that they had then been zealous for the gospel, and suffered in its cause, and loved him with deep affection; that very soon after he left them, false teachers had begun to corrupt their minds, that they were ready to turn back to weak and beggarly elements, and that their love to the apostle was greatly abated, through the arts of these Judaizing teachers. Hence his surprise at their rapid declension, his appeal to their promising outset in the faith, and his longing to be with them again, since now he travailed in birth again for their souls, as at the time of their conversion, when he called them to the faith of Christ.

If the letter is thus fixed to the interval between the visits, at what period, in that interval, is it most likely to have been written? Not, certainly, till after his arrival in Europe, nor till some months later. However rapid the influx of corruption, it must have had time to affect several, perhaps many churches, before such a letter could have been written. It is even more probable that St. Paul's knowledge was gained by the return of a special messenger, as when Timothy was sent to Thessalonica, than that the Galatians informed him themselves of this serious change. It must have been some time before he had the prospect of a second visit, or else there would naturally be some allusion to his probable return. Hence it is most reasonable to place it about half-way in the interval of the two visits, perhaps in the second half-year of his residence at Corinth, or at a distance of a year and a-half since he left Galatia.

On this view of the probable date, we may trace, I think, several coincidences, which agree remarkably together.

1. In Gal. vi. 11 we have these words: "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand." We may infer that St. Paul had written other letters, known to the Galatians, and known also to be in the handwriting of another. Now such are the two letters to the Thessalonians, written from Corinth in the previous year. Copies of these would probably be taken to Galatia by the same messenger who brought back tidings of their previous declension. When the

apostle had so lately expressed his purpose of simply attesting his letters by the signature, 2 Thess. iii. 17, his deep interest for the Galatians would be doubly marked by writing the whole letter with his own hand. This verse appears decisive against the date of Michaelis and Tate, who refer the letter to the first stay at Thessalonica. The form of the statement, also, favours the idea, that this was the longest letter St. Paul had yet written. Now this could be true only before the first letter to Corinth, though it would not forbid a date from Ephesus after the second visit. It agrees best, however, with the date from Corinth already assigned.

2. In Gal. v. 11, St. Paul inquires, "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross ceased." It is plainly taught that the apostle was undergoing persecution while he wrote the letter, and this from the Jews. Now such persecutions are recorded at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and again at Corinth, after which no mention of them occurs again until near the close of his stay at Ephesus. Hence, the words suit perfectly with the state of things at Corinth about a year after his residence began.

3. The superscription affords another coincidence. In the two letters to Thessalonica, the apostle drops his own title of authority, and simply ranks himself with Silvanus and Timothy. In every later epistle, except the one to Philippi, the title is used. Here it occurs with a peculiar emphasis, "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father." Several brethren are with him, probably Silvanus and Timothy, and yet none of them are mentioned by name. How consistent and natural, if the order just proposed be real! The questioning of his apostleship among the Galatians leads him not only to assert it here with the greatest energy in the very superscription, but to change his former practice, the instinct of deep humility, and to affirm his authority thenceforward in the forefront of every letter.

4. Another coincidence appears at the close of the two letters, which thus follow in order.

2 Thess. iii. 13. "But ye, brethren, be not weary in well-doing."

Gal. vi. 9. "And let us not be weary in well-doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not."

These verses, just at the close of each letter, are almost

verbally the same. It is simply explained, if the second of them was written at Corinth not long after the other.

5. It is a more decisive coincidence, that by assigning this date to the letter, we find a remarkable agreement with the history as to the probable intrusion of the false teachers. Not two years would have passed since their reception of the gospel until the time of this rebuke, and hence the apostle might well marvel at the rapid progress of the evil; yet the whole course of the narrative in the book of Acts renders the entrance of such an evil at the time probable and almost certain. Paul and Barnabas had contended long at Antioch against the Judaizers before the council at Jerusalem, and the result was the decree addressed to the Syrian and Cilician churches. On the next circuit of Paul and Silas, they went through Syria and Cilicia, and then through Pisidia and Lycaonia, leaving copies of the decree for all the existing churches. Then, after preaching the gospel for the first time in Phrygia and Galatia, they passed over into Europe. During their long absence at such a distance, accompanied by other faithful helpers, it was almost certain that the false brethren, who had resisted Paul and Barnabas so pertinaciously at Antioch, and who would find the decree a powerful barrier in Syria and Cilicia, to which places it was addressed, would begin to disseminate their views in these new churches, while the apostle was far away, and the decree seemed to offer them less impediment. They would thus, as they flattered themselves, complete the work which he had imperfectly begun. The rapid entrance and growth of the evil is thus explained, though still the apostle might well marvel at the sudden change.

6. This view of the date throws a further light on the brief statement in the Acts respecting the second visit. In the former case Phrygia took the precedence. "When they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia." But on his return, Galatia is first visited. "He departed and went over the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." Now this priority would be the natural result of his intense anxiety about the Galatian churches.

Again, the closing words are a secret allusion to that state of the Galatian Christians which the letter discloses. It is an antithesis to the term employed by the council, Acts xv. 24, and by St. Paul in the letter, i. 7, in describing the baneful

effects of the Judaizing teachers. It is also the very term used to describe the exhortations of Judas and Silas, which served for an antidote to the same corruption of the faith in the church of Antioch. They "exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them," (*καὶ ἐπεστήριξαν.*) In like manner Paul, on his second visit, passed through Galatia, "confirming all the disciples," (*ἐπιστηρίζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς.*)

7. The historical analogy on this view is worthy of observation. Paul and Barnabas preach the gospel in Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia. False brethren enter in, and trouble the disciples. The decree or letter of the council is procured and sent, and then Paul and Silas pass through Syria and Cilicia, "confirming (*ἐπιστηρίζοντες*) the churches." They next preach throughout Phrygia and Galatia. During their absence in Europe, false teachers trouble the Galatian churches. Paul writes this severe letter of rebuke; and then, about a year afterwards, "departed and went in order through the country of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples." He preaches at Thessalonica after he has left Galatia. When he proceeds to Corinth disorders creep in. He writes two letters of admonition, and then, after a longer delay, goes into Macedonia on a second visit, and gives them much exhortation, Acts xx. 2. In like manner he labours at Corinth for eighteen months. During his absence, great disorders and abuses arise. He writes two letters of faithful and affectionate reproof, and then he pays them a second visit. This uniform analogy, in four distinct and successive theatres of apostolic labour, is a powerful confirmation of the view now offered, and may even be regarded as an indirect coincidence, that evinces the truth and reality of the whole narrative.

No. VIII.

Gal. ii. 5. "To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you."

More correctly, that the truth of the gospel might continue unto you (*διαμένειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*). In other words, that it might continue so as to reach unto you. This is a minute and delicate agreement with the history, so delicate that it is lost in the usual version. At the date of the council, Galatia had not yet received the gospel; but the apostle visited them, and founded churches among them, on his very next journey.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE two epistles to the church at Corinth abound with local and personal allusions, and have naturally supplied Paley with the largest materials for his work. The *Horæ* contain twelve articles upon each letter, and many of the coincidences developed in them are remarkably interesting and conclusive. After so large a harvest, it would occasion no surprise if we found only a scanty gleanings. This, however, is not the case. Several of the coincidences that remain are perhaps equally striking as those which he has already developed. Since the argument is cumulative, the chapter on this epistle in the *Horæ* should first be read, before examining the further coincidences, which will be given in the following pages.

No. I.

1 Cor. i. 1. "Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, and Sosthenes our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth."

These words, in the opening of the letter, are the subject of a note in the *Horæ* Paulinæ, which Paley has not inserted in the text, because the coincidence is made to depend on a various and less authentic reading. If, however, we can discover a probable coincidence, without recourse to critical violence, it may claim a lawful place in the argument.

First, it is remarkable that, while Silvanus and Timothy are joined in the superscription of two letters, and Timothy alone in four others, Sosthenes is joined here in the address to the Corinthians, while his name never occurs again in all the thirteen letters. Silvanus is named in the epistles four times, and Timothy eighteen times; but Sosthenes here only. Many others, as Luke, Demas, Aristarchus, are named repeatedly, who are never joined in the superscription. It is natural to conclude that there must be some reason, peculiar to the church of Corinth, why Sosthenes is thus associated with the apostle in this letter only.

When we turn to the history of Paul's abode at Corinth, we have the following statement:

Acts xviii. 12-17. "And when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against

Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat, saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters. And he drave them from the judgment seat. Then all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment seat; and Gallio cared for none of these things."

If Sosthenes had been beaten by the Jews, no one would have doubted that the same person was meant, here and in the epistle. Some manuscripts have that reading, while others omit either term. Paley conjectures that this last was the original text, and that various supplements have been added, according to the views of the transcribers. But besides the fact that most manuscripts read "all the Greeks," it is required by the scope of the passage. When the Jews had been repelled with ignominy from the judgment seat, it would be a most unlikely moment for them to venture on an act of violence, even in Gallio's presence; and not less unlikely that the actual ruler of the synagogue should be a Christian and not simply a Jew. The passage clearly speaks its own tale. On the contemptuous repulse of the Jews, the Greek mob, who disliked their religion, and still more their turbulence, seized the opportunity given them by this public disgrace, to inflict a kind of rude justice, as they would reckon it, on the ruler of the synagogue, the leader of those Jews, whom Gallio had driven away as foolish and troublesome accusers. Gallio himself, secretly pleased that the mob should second his own contempt for the Jews, looked on coolly, and refused to interfere. It is thus morally certain that Sosthenes is here exhibited as the leader of the unbelieving and calumnious Jews.

How, then, can the two passages be shown to coincide? Simply by a reference to the statement a few verses before. "And Crispus, *the chief ruler of the synagogue*, believed on the Lord with all his house." If one chief ruler had already been converted to the faith, clearly the supposition is not at all violent, that the same change might also occur in the case of Sosthenes, his immediate successor in the office. The

history will even go still further, and suggest a very probable occasion of his conversion. It is plain that, after the repulse by Gallio, the Jews were the objects of popular odium, and endured a sort of temporary persecution. We are sure that Paul would have no sympathy with the Greek rioters; and it is almost certain, from his conduct on other occasions, that one of his first efforts would be to express his sympathy for the chief ruler of the synagogue, now in his turn the object of scorn and ill treatment from a licentious populace like that of Corinth. It would not be surprising if such an exhibition of love to an enemy, at such a time, were the means of bringing him to repentance, and turned the ringleader of opposition into "Sosthenes our brother."

We have thus two imperfect presumptions in the history, from the case of Crispus his predecessor, and the probable conduct of St. Paul at a critical season, to render the conversion of Sosthenes highly credible. His name, in the superscription of the letter, since it must be the name of some one well known at Corinth, and of influence there, turns this credible conjecture into a certainty. And now the history, in its turn, explains the superscription. For if Sosthenes had been the ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth; the leading adversary of the apostle, and since then a convert to the faith, and a beloved brother, no name could be so suitable and impressive to unite with his own in the opening salutation. Saul the persecutor and blasphemer, turned into Paul the apostle, and Sosthenes the leader in persecution against that apostle, now become Sosthenes our brother, were two trophies of Divine grace that might fitly stand side by side, and which, when combined, would appeal with double power to the church at Corinth. We have thus a coincidence, most indirect and circuitous, yet beautifully complete. The evidence of personal identity, though constructive, amounts to a moral certainty, while the previous history of Sosthenes is a complete key to his place in the superscription of this one epistle alone.

No. II.

1 Cor. i. 4—7. "I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; that in everything ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge, . . . so that ye come behind in no gift."

It appears from these opening words that the Corinthian

converts had eminent gifts of "knowledge and utterance," and hence, from the comparatively low moral standard they had attained, they must have been exposed to a great danger of pride in these endowments.

Now if we read the letter with care, we shall discover a peculiar style of remonstrance running through its whole course, and exactly suited to counteract and expose this evil. To show this, it is necessary to quote several passages, and if they are read in their own context, the truth will be placed in a still clearer light.

In the first chapter, towards the close, we have this animated appeal,—“Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?”

In the third chapter we have a double statement bearing on this main evil. “*Know ye not* that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?” And again, “If any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.”

In the fourth chapter, in reference to his own intended visit, he gives this warning, “I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, *not the speech of them which are puffed up*, but the power. For the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.”

In the sixth chapter we have no less than five distinct appeals to them, with reference to their supposed knowledge, and the practical use to which it should be applied. “Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? Know ye not that we shall judge angels? . . . Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? . . . Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? . . . What? know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?”

The eighth chapter begins with an appeal that is still more pointed in its application, and where our translation needs improvement, to remove its obscurity, and bring out the true meaning.

“Now as touching things offered unto idols, we know (because we all have knowledge; knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth. And if any man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know. But if

any man love God, the same is known of Him.) As touching, then, the eating of things offered to idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world."

In the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters the same indirect lesson re-appears. "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge, . . . and have not charity, I am nothing. . . . What? came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only? If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord."

"Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away."

This unity of remonstrance and caution amidst such a variety of topics, this strain of delicate irony pervading the whole letter, when compared with the thanksgiving in the opening verses for their gifts of knowledge and utterance, is a mark of reality not to be mistaken. It is true that the coincidence is entirely within the limits of the letter itself, but it is not, on this account, the less complete and powerful. The harmony between that statement and these various reproofs could exist only for a mind like that of the apostle, who could thank God for the gifts they had received, while fully alive to the abuse of those gifts on the part of the Corinthians, and who could mingle reproof, in the gentlest and most indirect manner, with all the variety of instructions he had to convey.

No. III.

1 Cor. i. 12. "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ."

Ch. iii. 21, 22. "All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come."

The agreement with the history, as to Paul and Apollos, has been noticed by Paley, in No. V. of his remarks on this epistle. But the mention of Cephas will supply another mark of reality, less obvious, but hardly inferior in strength.

We may clearly infer, from this repeated mention of Cephas, that there was a third party at Corinth, distinct from

those of Paul and Apollos, who looked up to St. Peter as their favourite authority. From the order in both places, we may conclude that it was only the third in numbers and influence.

The history relates that St. Paul founded the church, and that it was greatly profited, after his departure, by the instructions of Apollos. We have no hint respecting any visit of St. Peter. Mr. Greswell, indeed, would infer it from these very passages (*Diss.* ii. 106, 107). But if we observe that St. Paul mentions himself and Apollos only as having actually laboured at Corinth, we may fairly deduce from his words the very opposite, that Cephas or Peter had not preached at Corinth. How, in that case, could his name be placed after Apollos, as if his influence were inferior; or how could the history, which mentions the visit of Apollos, pass over his in silence? It is natural, however, that the partisans of Cephas who had never been at Corinth, should be fewer than those of Paul and Apollos, who resided so long among them.

But why should Peter, if he had not visited Corinth, have any distinct party there whatever? The explanation is very simple. The church, there as elsewhere, began from the Jewish synagogue; and Crispus the chief ruler, and even Sosthenes his successor, as has just been shown, became converts. Hence there were many Jews among its members, though the majority were Gentiles. Now Peter was the most eminent apostle of the circumcision. And hence those Jewish converts, who clung most firmly to their national customs, would look to him as their favourite authority, although he had never paid a visit to Corinth.

Now when we compare the two epistles, it is plain that Judaism was not the chief danger at Corinth, as it was among the Galatians, but Gentilism, or undue conformity with heathenish customs. This is evident from the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters of the first epistle, and the sixth chapter of the second. In fact, the greater part of the letters give us no trace of a Jewish party, distinct from the more powerful sections who gloried in the names of Paul and Apollos.

When we turn, however, to the close of the second epistle, this third party comes into view. Its existence is clearly implied in those questions of St. Paul with reference to the false teachers, who sought to disparage his authority, "Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I.

Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they ministers of Christ? I speak as a fool, I am more."

We have thus an indirect proof, by comparing the history with the second epistle, of what is implied in these verses of the first epistle; that there was a Jewish party at Corinth, distinct from those of Paul and Apollos, and that it was weaker and less important than the two others.

No. IV.

1 Cor. iv. 17. "For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ."

In No. III. of the *Horæ* on this epistle, Paley traces out the undesigned agreement of these words with those in Acts xix. 22. Since, however, Mr. Greswell supposes that the two were distinct missions, it is needful to examine the question anew.

And first, the hypothesis is highly improbable, on a bare inspection of the two passages. For the mission in Acts was expressly to prepare for St. Paul's own journey. In like manner, the mission in the letter was when St. Paul was on the eve of that journey. "I will come unto you, when I have passed through Macedonia, for I do pass through Macedonia." This proof alone is sufficient, without strong counter-evidence, and none such is to be found.

The first reason alleged is, that St. Paul had decided on his journey to Jerusalem and Rome at the time of the mission in Acts, but not at the time of the epistle. Of this latter assertion, however, there is no proof, nor even a reasonable presumption. For it is plain that the apostle, of set purpose, reserved the full statement of his plans from the Corinthians, until he should know the effect of his admonitions. He discloses more in the second letter than in the first, and more, doubtless, on his arrival than in the second letter, but no change of plan is implied in this gradual communication.

Next, it is alleged that, at the date of the epistle, he had not yet determined on passing through Macedonia, and so to Achaia, which he had determined at the time of the mission in Acts. But the text just referred to (1 Cor. xvi. 5,) proves the exact reverse, that this determination was already made.

The third reason is, that after the mission in Acts, Paul

rejoined Timothy, and not Timothy St. Paul. But this is no presumption for a double mission, since the same might equally be true of the absence mentioned in the letter. It is true that St. Paul then expected Timothy to return, but it is equally certain that he himself left Ephesus sooner than he intended, and it is also probable that Timothy might be detained in Macedonia beyond the apostle's expectation.

The last reason urged is, that in the second letter St. Paul speaks of being ready to come for the third time. Now there is such a promise in the first and also in the second epistle, but not a third, unless in the mission of Timothy,—either the one in Acts, or some prior mission. And the latter is thought more probable, because the Acts do not state that Timothy was sent into Achaia, but there is proof in the epistle that he was sent to Corinth.

There seems to be here a succession of errors. The natural meaning of the words—"this is the third time I am ready to come to you," is that this would be the third visit, including the one of which he had been disappointed. Such is the view of Grotius and Paley, and is a simple explanation. But to explain it as a third purposing of this second visit is an improbable view, refuted by the apostle's words, who speaks of one change of purpose, and one only. Again, the silence about Achaia in the Acts is no proof that Timothy was not intended to visit Corinth; while that intention, as expressed in the letter, is no proof that he actually reached it. And thus every one of the three premises is quite baseless.

In fact, the double mission of Timothy is not only improbable, but irreconcilable with the plain scope of both passages. That the mission in Acts was very shortly before the apostle left Ephesus, is clearly expressed by the historian. But the mission in the letter was also shortly before that departure, since the apostle describes himself, as if setting out already. "I will come unto you when I have passed through Macedonia, for I do pass through Macedonia." And again, soon after, "I will not see you just now by the way." The hypothesis of a double mission is therefore on the indirect coincidence untenable, and the remarks of Paley are accurate and true.

No. V.

1 Cor. v. 9.—"I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornica-

tors of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then ye must needs go out of this world. But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no, not to eat."

There has been a division of opinion on these verses, whether the apostle refers merely to the letter he was writing, or to some other, which is not extant. Many have embraced the former view, being unwilling to suppose that any letter of St. Paul should have perished. This is the construction of Chrysostom and Theodoret, and a great number of commentators. On the other hand, there are many critical authorities for the second view, which is held by Calvin, Grotius, Doddridge, Hug, Rosenmüller, and is plainly adopted by the translators of our English Bible. The words of Calvin are these—" *Ista epistola, de quâ loquitur, hodie non extat. Nec dubium quin multæ aliæ exciderint; sed satis est, quod nobis supersunt quâs sufficere Dominus providet.*"* This question must first be settled, before we can trace any coincidence from these words.

Now if the reference be to the actual letter, it must either be to a command implied in the previous passage, or to the words just passing from his pen. It cannot, however, be the former. For the command of which he speaks is one so generally expressed, as to need limiting afterwards to the case of a Christian brother. But the only implicit command, deducible from the previous passage, is limited of its own nature to fellowship with a Christian brother; since the incestuous person was a member of the church. Hence the charge cannot be one implicitly contained in the preceding verses.

Is it then, perhaps, the charge he is actually writing? But in a passage of such intense feeling, how could he adopt such an indirect and ambiguous mode of expression, instead of that direct and simple form, which meets us in Ephesians, "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." In such a case, he would doubtless have written here—"Have no fellowship with fornicators:" and the added words—"I have written to you in my letter," would be nothing else than verbiage, weakening and obscuring the force of the appeal.

* That epistle, of which he speaks, is not now extant. Nor is it doubtful that many others have perished; but it is enough that those remain which the Lord foresaw to be sufficient.

The reasons, then, for this view seem quite decisive. It is the natural construction, which would suggest itself instinctively to the general reader. The form of the phrase is exactly the same as in 2 Cor. vii. 8, where the reference is to a former letter; and this sets aside the objection, that in this case he would have written *τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστόλῃ*. It is most probable that St. Paul would write more letters in twenty years than the fourteen which are in the canon. There is also a plain contrast between the former direction, and the more specific instruction in the present passage.

The only ground of the opposite opinion is a reluctance to admit that any letters of St. Paul can have perished. Yet there is no more real difficulty in supposing him to have written several, not now extant, than in the certain fact that so many inspired discourses of our Lord and his apostles were never written at all. Either in an oral or written message, inspiration alone would not constitute it a part of the canon. There would be needed an express purpose of the Holy Spirit, indicated to the writer or to others, that it was to be permanently recorded for the instruction of the whole church. An opposite view would imply that the apostles were wholly debarred from the natural use of writing, except for one very limited and peculiar purpose, which is surely most unreasonable. The existence, then, of such a previous letter is open to no solid objection of a theological nature, from the peculiar character of inspired writings.

If now we turn to the narrative, the view here maintained has the utmost historical probability in its favour. It was little more than two days' sail from Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, to Ephesus, and there was a continual commerce between them. The stay of the apostle at Ephesus was between two and three years. And hence, when we remember his long abode at Corinth, and his deep interest in the church he had founded, it is impossible that repeated communications should not have passed between them. It is also most unlikely that he should never once, till the very close of that time, have added a short written message by the hand of the messengers. The fact, therefore, implied in the above passage, taken in its only natural sense, has the highest degree of historical probability.

Let us now compare 2 Cor. x. 10, 11. The apostle there repeats the remark of some false teacher at Corinth, who disparaged his authority. "For his letters, saith he, are

weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that, such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present." Here, not only in the words which St. Paul quotes, but in his own rejoinder, we are taught that more letters than one had reached the Corinthians, For that the allusion is not to other letters, as those to Thessalonica, is plain from the contrast. "Such as we are in word by letters when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present." They were letters, therefore, of admonition and partial rebuke to the Corinthians themselves. Hence these two incidental notices agree perfectly with each other, while they are in equal harmony with the history, in the apostle's long abode at Ephesus, within two or three days' sail of Corinth.

Let us see next whether we cannot trace these communications a little further. The apostle had now received at least two reports or messages from Corinth, one by the house of Chloë, 1 Cor. i. 11, and another by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who seem to have brought a letter, with written cases for his decision, 1 Cor. vii. 1; xvi. 17. Still earlier, however, Apollos, who was at Corinth when Paul reached Ephesus, (Acts xix. 1,) had returned to Ephesus himself, and was there at the date of this letter, 1 Cor. xvi. 12. The report about the incestuous person seems to have reached the apostle from several sources, (1 Cor. v. 1), and from the order of its mention, most probably by some channel later than the report from Chloë's household, and before the arrival of Stephanas with the Corinthian letter. Hence, even before that letter came, St. Paul had not only changed his plan of visiting Corinth on his way to Macedonia, but had informed them of the change, so as to have heard its effect upon their minds. "Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you." In the second epistle, he inquires, "Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you?" He mentions one instance, the mission of Titus with a brother, but implies evidently that he had sent other messages beside. And even that journey of Titus is not the same as when he carried the first epistle, which we may infer as follows. The first epistle was written before the Pentecost, after the winter, and near to the time of the passover (see Horæ, No. XII.) The second, when St. Paul

was still in Macedonia, some little time before he reached Corinth, not later probably than September. Yet the mission of Titus, to begin the contribution at Corinth, was then a full year distant, 2 Cor. viii. 10; ix. 2. And hence there must have been a mission of Titus in the previous year to that of the first epistle, of which he was also the bearer to Corinth.

We have thus four or five distinct occasions, when tidings might reach the apostle from Corinth; by the return of Apollos, by the house of Chloë, by nameless reporters, who told of the incestuous person, by the return of Titus the previous year, and lastly, by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, when they brought the letter from the church. We have also several messages to Corinth, even before the first epistle, by other brethren, 2 Cor. xii. 17; by the former visit of Titus, and by those who announced his change of plan, before sending Timothy into Macedonia. For this must have been shortly before the first epistle, and not the same with the visit of Titus, to begin the contribution. All these hints agree with each other.

But the coincidence, on further investigation, becomes still more complete. The letter alluded to contained a charge, not to company with fornicators. We may fairly conclude that it was one of grave authority and faithful warning. Thus the words of the objector are explained, "his letters are weighty and powerful;" that is, they have a tone of dignity and authority. Such is clearly the character of the first extant epistle, and from the one hint that is left, was equally true of its predecessor.

Again, the change of route, 2 Cor. i. 23, was in order to spare the Corinthians, after St. Paul had learned of the disorders among them. It was after this change that Timothy was sent into Macedonia, with the intention that he should also proceed to Corinth. Now, when the first epistle was written, St. Paul had already announced his purpose of delaying his visit; for he had heard that some were puffed up, as though in so doing he had treated them with indifference. A communication, we may infer with certainty, had taken place, since the tidings of the abuses had reached him. There is thus, gathered laboriously from the collation of hints easily overlooked, a full explanation of the statement respecting the previous letter, and its contents of faithful warning. "I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators."

The direction at that time was more general. Now, after fuller intelligence, it is more carefully explained in its true limit, and rendered more specific in the application. "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, . . . with such an one no not to eat." And there is here also a probable and sufficient reason why the former letter should not be preserved. It was of the same general character with the first epistle now extant, but founded on more imperfect information, and more brief and general in its admonitions. And hence the apostle himself might be directed to forbid copies of it for the other churches, since every purpose it would fulfil was answered more completely by the one which followed.

No. VI.

1 Cor. v. 7. "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast."

In No. XII. on this epistle, Paley infers from the above passage, compared with others, that the letter was written about the time of a passover. It is desirable to inquire whether its date can be more exactly determined, since the force of one or two other coincidences will be affected by it, and Mr. Greswell throws back its date to the very beginning of the year, or three complete months before the time of the Passover.

In favour of this opinion it is urged that the expression, "let us keep the feast," could not be used with propriety, unless this festival were still in prospect. But this is an evident misinterpretation. The apostle's allusion is rendered more vivid, if he wrote about the time of the Jewish feast, but clearly he is not enforcing an actual celebration, and simply transfers the type to its spiritual counterpart in the whole life of the Christian, which was to be a rejoicing in the sacrifice of Christ in sincerity and truth.

There are several reasons of much greater force which prove that the letter was rather after the passover than before it. The intended limit of the stay at Ephesus was the feast of Pentecost, seven weeks after the other. But several hints imply that the actual interval was very short from the date of the letter. Though St. Paul intended to go through Macedonia first, he still regards his visit to Corinth as near. "I will come to you shortly," (iv. 19.) He leaves many par-

ticalars to be set in order, "when I come," (xi. 34.) He speaks of his journey almost as if begun, "I am passing through Macedonia. . . I will not see you just now by the way." The manner in which he speaks of tarrying till Pentecost implies that it was only a few weeks distant, so that he might almost view himself as starting already on his way, and only prolonging his stay till a feast, probably because the absence of so many Jews might seem a favourable occasion for quitting a sphere, where they had been such bitter adversaries. Again, he had sent Timothy into Macedonia, and informed the Corinthians of his change of plan, before Stephanas set out from Corinth. And it is probable that Timothy would not be sent out until the winter was fairly over. The passover was celebrated in Judæa, where alone the sacrifices could be offered; and hence the allusion to it would be as natural at the time when the Jews were returning from thence to Ephesus, as at the actual time of celebration. This would be two or three weeks after the close of the feast. By comparing the two epistles, it appears that Titus was not directed to rejoin the apostle at Ephesus, but at Troas, which is a further proof that Pentecost, the intended limit, was not very distant. Hence, on the whole, the most probable date seems to be about three weeks after the passover-day, when multitudes of the Jews would be returning from Palestine after attending the feast, and four weeks before Pentecost. Since the departure of the apostle was hastened by the tumult, this might really be not more than a fortnight or three weeks, after the letter was written.

No. VII.

1 Cor. xv. 30, 31. "And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by my rejoicing for you, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. If after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die."

When the epistle was written, St. Paul was still in or near Ephesus, where he intended to stay until Pentecost. It was, therefore, prior to the tumult, Acts xix, after which he set out at once for Macedonia. Yet it could not, as we have seen, be much earlier, but probably was two or three weeks before the tumult arose.

There is thus a coincidence between the time when the letter was written, inferred very indirectly from several slight hints, which fix it only by their combination, and the danger of St. Paul, described in this animated passage. Besides the old hatred of the Jews, which led them to speak evil of that way before the multitude, the selfishness of the craftsmen, and the superstitious patriotism of the Ephesians, were now combining against him, and mounted soon to a perfect paroxysm of rage. It is true that the history gives us no details of the opposition before that final explosion, but it is morally certain that for several weeks, perhaps months, before such a universal mutiny of the populace, St. Paul would indeed "stand in jeopardy every hour," and feel himself exposed daily, as he here assures the Corinthians in the most solemn manner, to the peril of death.

And this leads us to examine the other expression, which is involved in some doubt and obscurity. And first, the phrase *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*, in St. Paul's epistle, denotes constantly "to speak after the manner of men," as Rom. iii. 5; 1 Cor. ix. 8; Gal. iii. 15. There are only two interpretations which seem possible, without great violence; that St. Paul refers to some actual and literal combat with wild beasts, or that he employs this metaphor to describe the fierceness of his adversaries. If the allusion be to a literal conflict, the manner of it will imply that the fact was well known to the Corinthians, and hence would be a moral proof that the letter is genuine. But the phrase itself points us to a different explanation. Why should St. Paul use the qualifying expression, "to speak as men," if he referred to a literal conflict? Chrysostom explains it to mean, "so far as depended on man's will," or that the furious multitude demanded this punishment. But it is surely unnatural for the apostle to instance sufferings never inflicted, and to pass over those which were really endured. A recent popular commentator explains it, that he was thrown to the wild beasts, and had every human prospect of being destroyed. This, however, instead of being the fair and obvious meaning, is inconsistent with the words, and would require a different phrase. "If, after human appearance, I was *slain* by wild beasts at Ephesus." On the other hand, it would be a mode of speech usual among men, to call his conflict with fierce adversaries a combat with wild beasts. The scope of the passage almost requires a reference to some

continued danger, which might have been averted by a worldly course, but which he persevered in enduring through his hope of a better resurrection.

Now on this view, the only one which really satisfies the meaning of the whole phrase, we have an indirect and unsuspecting agreement with the history. The time is not that of the tumult itself, but still it was only a very few weeks earlier, possibly not more than a fortnight. Nothing could be more natural than for the apostle, living in the midst of such fierce enemies, and aware of their gathering hatred, to express his own sufferings by this vivid metaphor, which their violence and rage in the amphitheatre turned, very soon, into a direct prophecy. What could bear a closer resemblance to the raging of hungry wild beasts, let loose from their dens, than that scene at Ephesus? How vivid and appropriate is the description St. Paul here gives us of his own state, a few weeks before the catastrophe, when we compare it with the frightful spectacle itself! "And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by my rejoicing for you, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily. Yet although, to speak in the language of men, I have contended with wild beasts here at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die." Let us renounce at once that course of zeal and faithfulness, which draws down upon me the rage of adversaries, furious as the beasts of prey, and purchase peace by joining in worldly revelry, instead of continuing to brave their fierce hatred.

What mark of reality can be more impressive than that which is furnished by this passage, when correctly explained, and then compared with the sacred history?

No. VIII.

1 Cor. xvi. 1. "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye."

These words have been cited in the *Horæ*, from their coincidence with the statements of the history, that Galatia was visited shortly before St. Paul arrived at Ephesus, and with one hint in the Epistle to the Galatians. They are here adduced for a distinct purpose, to throw light on several indirect allusions in that former letter.

Reasons have been already given, to show that the Epistle to the Galatians was written from Corinth, about midway or later, in the apostle's absence from them, and before his second visit. We find, in the case of Macedonia and Achaia, that St. Paul did not think it wise to set on foot a contribution for Judæa in the first infancy of these churches, but waited till their faith was confirmed. It would have made the gospel too much like a Jewish scheme for levying contributions for Palestine, if this duty had been very early enforced on the converts in their novitiate. It was just before the second visit to these places that the contribution was set on foot, and completed soon after. A time of doctrinal corruption, it is plain, would also be premature for enforcing such a duty, which would then be regarded with jealousy, or else made the food of self-righteous error. It was natural, then, and almost necessary, that St. Paul should not set on foot this contribution on his first visit to Galatia, nor during that interval of decay and false doctrine, which filled him with deep anxiety, but only when his rebukes had produced a wholesome repentance, and he had paid them a second visit, "strengthening all the disciples." So far, the coincidence is the same which Paley has noted, with one added feature of truth, in the special suitability of the second visit, Acts xviii. 23, for those directions, which this passage in the letter proves to have been given at that time, and not before.

But a more delicate harmony remains still to be noticed. If St. Paul, when he wrote to the Galatians, felt their actual state unsuitable for any direct charge about the contribution, and yet designed fully to urge it upon them, in a second visit, if they were reclaimed by his letter, he would naturally seek to prepare their minds for it by hints in that letter, which might work their effect silently, and bear fruit in due season. Let us now see whether there are not unobtrusive, and still unquestionable tokens of such a secret purpose.

First, in his review of the history, what is the solitary point which he names, as the suggestion of the other apostles, the pillars of the church, with which he was prompt and ready to comply? "Only they would that we should remember the poor (that is, of the Jewish believers), the same which I also was forward to do."

What instruction does he give for their conduct towards all those from whom they received spiritual blessings? "Let

him that is taught in the word communicate to him that teacheth in all good things." This is the very maxim on which he rests the contribution in the two later epistles to Corinth and Rome; that the Gentiles had been partakers from the Jews of spiritual things, and ought therefore to minister to them in carnal or temporal things.

Not satisfied with this double hint, bearing on the duty of liberality, he repeats it once more, in a form directly and plainly applicable to the future contribution. "And let us not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have, therefore, opportunity, let us do good to all men, and especially to them who are of the household of faith." Surely this is a prospective instruction, which he proposed to unfold more clearly, by the orders he afterwards gave to the churches of Galatia respecting the contribution for Judæa, before he reached Ephesus, and wrote similar instructions to Corinth.

No. IX.

1 Cor. xvi. 6. "And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey whithersoever I go."

The apostle, having once disappointed the Corinthians, though for a weighty and sufficient reason, would not lightly disappoint them again. He speaks with some doubt, because he was still uncertain what effect his letter would have, and he had determined not to visit them again, till he might do it with joy. Since, however, we learn from the second epistle that the result of the first even surpassed his hopes, we may be sure that he would keep his present engagement, if it were at all possible. His departure from Ephesus was only hastened, not hindered by the tumult, and thus would concur with the same design. Although in form it is a doubtful and conditional promise, we know that the main cause of doubt was removed, and hence may view it as a simple prediction.

Let us now turn to the history. We are there informed that Paul sent for the elders of the church to Miletus, for he "had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia: for he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost." The urgent haste, which is essential to explain the summons of the elders, is

only half accounted for by this fact alone, of the proposed termination of the voyage, unless we knew also its commencement; and for this reason, doubtless, the historian told us before, "We sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread." One other note of time is given, the character of which is best shown by a full quotation.

"And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus."

Now if St. Paul and St. Luke sailed from Philippi after the passover, they probably reached it before the feast began. If companions were with them from Thessalonica and Berea, it is likely that the apostle touched at those places in his way, and gave "a second benefit" to those churches as well as Philippi. He must therefore, it is probable, have left Corinth a month before the passover began, or not later than the end of February or the first week of March. But since he spent three months in Greece or Achaia, and the phrase implies that these were complete, he must have reached it about the last week of November, or the first of December. There was thus a punctual fulfilment of his conditional promise.—"It may be that I shall abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey whithersoever I go." The only shade of difference between the promise and its accomplishment bears a further trace of real history. The apostle seems to have reached Corinth later in the winter season than he expected before leaving Ephesus, a very natural result of unforeseen delays in an extensive circuit through all Macedonia.

No. X.

1 Cor. xvi. 12. "As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have convenient time."

It seems here implied that the Corinthians, in their message to St. Paul, expressed a desire for Apollos to come, if he himself were hindered. It is plain that St. Paul urged his coming, and that Apollos declined the visit with equal perseverance.

All these circumstances are exactly what we might expect from the facts disclosed in these epistles, or detailed in the history. Yet the harmony is of a deep and hidden nature, since to perceive it the character of these eminent teachers requires to be thoughtfully weighed. St. Paul had founded the church, and Apollos had greatly helped its progress. There were two parties, forming the greater part of the whole church, who attached themselves to these leaders even with a sinful emulation. When St. Paul had expressed his resolution to delay his visit, it was very natural that they should desire the return of Apollos, who also was now at Ephesus. It agrees well with the noble character of the apostle, and his freedom from all selfish jealousy, that he should urge Apollos to comply with their request. It was equally natural that Apollos, who had heard by the same messengers of these feuds in the church, and of the abuse of his own name in party rivalry to St. Paul himself, should decline the visit with similar earnestness. The same motive which led to the apostle's solicitation would prompt his own persevering refusal. Yet St. Paul, as he could not yet disclose fully his own motive for delaying his visit, which he first reveals in his second letter after their repentance, was equally precluded from stating the motive of Apollos, which turned upon the same unhappy divisions. Hence he says only in general terms, which imply more than they express, "Altogether it was not his will to come at this time, but he will come when the time shall be convenient."

The coincidence here is not of the letter with the history, but of a passing hint in the letter with the character and circumstances of Paul and Apollos, as deduced both from the letters and the history in the actual crisis of the Corinthian church.

No. XI.

1 Cor. xvi. 19. "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord; with the church that is in their house."

Why this one word of emphatic addition in the mention of

Aquila and Priscilla? If we turn to Acts xviii. 2, 3, we learn that they had stayed long at Corinth with the apostles, and been his most intimate companions, working with him daily in the same occupation of tent-makers. If we next consult the close of that same chapter, we find that they were the instructors of Apollos, who expounded to him the way of God more perfectly, and then joined with others in giving him letters of commendation to the believers in Achaia. Hence, from their long abode at Corinth, even longer than that of the apostle, their peculiar intimacy with St. Paul, dwelling in the same house, and working at the same trade, and their relation to Apollos as his spiritual helpers and instructors, they would have a threefold reason for special interest in that church, which Paul had planted and Apollos watered. Yet how unstrained and unobtrusive the significance of that one little word,—“Aquila and Priscilla salute you *much* in the Lord!”

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE marks of earnest reality in every part of this letter are so conspicuous, that it seems like holding up a candle to the sun, to dwell on the consistency of particular passages as proof of its authenticity; and indeed so many of these have been traced already in the *Horæ*, in twelve articles, that any increase of their number may appear doubly needless. The remark of Paley on the first of them (2 Cor. iii. 3–11, Acts xix. 23–41) is very just, that this alone would satisfy him the epistle was written by St. Paul, and by St. Paul under the actual circumstances in which the history places him.

Yet, however superfluous they may be deemed in the way of proof, all such internal marks of congruity are of real value. They tend not only to confirm the faith of the Christian, and to illustrate the superabundant evidence of these sacred records, but also to render our impressions of the narrative more vivid, and to give us a deeper insight into the more delicate and hidden harmonies of the word of God.

No. I.

2 Cor. i. 1. “Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timothy our brother, unto the church of God

which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia."

Chap. ii. 12, 13. "Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia."

The agreement between the second of these verses, and the narrative of St. Paul's return into Asia, has been noticed in the *Horæ*; but the careful comparison of both passages with the former epistle and the history gives rise to some further remarks, and seems to disclose a very indirect and still an indisputable coincidence.

It appears from the first epistle that Timothy had already gone into Macedonia, and that he was intended by Paul to visit Corinth, and then to rejoin the apostle, we might naturally suppose, at Ephesus. Accordingly, those who refer the first Epistle to Timothy to this date, suppose that he did rejoin him, and was then left behind at Ephesus, till he afterwards rejoined him a second time in Macedonia.

Again, Mr. Biley supposes that Titus had directions on leaving Corinth to return by way of Macedonia and Troas, so as to explain the conduct of the apostle, who, when disappointed in meeting him at Troas, crossed at once into Macedonia.

The former of these views is open to insurmountable objections, and even the latter seems highly improbable. The passage in Acts implies that St. Paul rather intended to follow Timothy than to await his return to Ephesus, and his own departure was hastened by the tumult. Even if Timothy had time to rejoin him there, it is most unlikely that St. Paul would leave him behind, as if for a prolonged stay, when the storm compelled his own departure; and it is impossible that he should speak of returning thither shortly, when the double delay of a circuit through all Macedonia, and a winter abode at Corinth, were fully in view. It is certain that he could not expect to rejoin him in much less than a year, and improbable that Timothy should desert the post, if thus assigned him, and return to Macedonia, when the apostle charges him to stay till he himself shall come (1 Tim. iv. 13). This view, then, is wholly untenable.

Again, it is most unlikely that Titus would be instructed to

return by Macedonia, when the desire of St. Paul was evidently to gain the earliest tidings of his visit. There would be no purpose in his visit to Macedonia, since Timothy had already been sent thither with full instructions. The journey from Corinth to Ephesus, or even to Troas, is shorter than to Philippi, and hence the supposed circuit would involve a needless and improbable delay.

Let us now inquire whether the history and the two letters, compared together, will not supply their own key, though so difficult to discover, and as these attempts may show, very easy to misunderstand. We have seen it probable that Titus was sent to Corinth about a month before Pentecost, the proposed limit of the apostle's stay at Ephesus. Hence, with the double voyage and the probable delay, St. Paul could not expect him to return before his own departure. He would naturally, therefore, make an appointment to meet at the first station on his own route, which appears, both from Acts xx. 6, and the above passage, to have been Troas. He thought it probable that Timothy would reach Corinth during the stay of Titus, though not certain (1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11), and in this case expected their return together. This return, however, would be to Troas, and not to Ephesus, as results from the previous conclusion. Two contingencies, however, were possible, that either Timothy or Titus might be delayed beyond their expectation. How would these be provided for? Since the object of the apostle was to meet Titus as soon as possible, and still to prosecute his route into Macedonia, he would naturally direct his return to Troas before some fixed time, rather later than Pentecost; but, if he were delayed longer, would instruct him to proceed at once to Philippi, the next station on his own journey. His hasty departure from Ephesus gave him rather more time than he had expected at Troas, so that there was a promising field open; but his eager desire to meet with Titus would not suffer him to stay when the fixed time was past, and he hastened forward into Macedonia. Again, though Timothy probably set out before the journey of Titus had been decided upon, it was after the apostle had settled both his route and the time of his departure. Hence, if he were delayed in Macedonia a few weeks beyond his expectation, to return by way of Corinth to Ephesus, as he was instructed in case of a speedy visit, would become useless, since instead of rejoining the apostle at once he would

actually be travelling away from him, without a chance of overtaking him till he had passed by Corinth, Ephesus, and Troas, into Macedonia again. He would therefore return to Philippi, and Titus would change his route and proceed thither, that both might report their success to the apostle at the first opportunity.

Every circumstance on this view is consistent and natural, yet how circuitous and indirect is the evidence by which it is proved. To obtain this harmonious result we need to determine, with tolerable accuracy, the date of the first letter, which depends on three or four passages combined together. We need, secondly, to consider the arrangement which St. Paul was likely to make with Titus, that he might hear the report as soon as possible, on the double contingency of a shorter or longer delay. We need, in the third place, by the help of this conclusion, to interpret the passage (1 Cor. xvi. 11) as importing a return of Timothy along with Titus, not to Ephesus, but to Troas. We need, lastly, to consider the ground of the doubt in that expression—"Now if Timotheus come," and to reflect on the most probable course that would be prescribed, if unexpected delays intervened at the very time when Paul had resolved to set out for Macedonia. Combining all these elements, at length we have a full explanation how Timothy should be present with the apostle in Macedonia, and how the disappointment in not meeting with Titus at Troas should lead the apostle to cross the sea at once, with the certain hope of meeting him somewhere in Macedonia. There is perhaps no one coincidence more indirect, derived from more complicated elements, and, when duly weighed, more demonstrably complete.

No. II.

This epistle has been often charged with the want of a regular arrangement. And certainly the order is less easy to discern than in most of the others. Yet in reality there is a principle of arrangement running through the whole, which is so unobtrusive as to be hardly ever noticed, and can only be accounted for by its historical truth.

It is plain that the letter includes three main subjects, besides the introduction; namely, the explanation of the new covenant and the gospel ministry, the message respecting the contribution, and the vindication of his authority against the

false teachers. But along with this general division there is a secret order of historical succession, the advice and exhortations being interwoven, either briefly or at greater length.

The letter begins with an apostrophe of thanksgiving for his recent deliverance from the fury of the Ephesian populace. We have, then, in regular sequence, the following events.

First, his original plan to visit Corinth on his way to Macedonia. "In this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit; and to pass by you into Macedonia," i. 15, 16.

Second, his change of plan, with its motive (i. 17, 23), "I call God for a record upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet to Corinth."

Thirdly, the writing of the first letter, with reflections arising out of it. "I wrote this same unto you, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice," ii. 3-11.

Fourthly, his arrival at Troas, and disappointment, ii. 12, 13.

Fifthly, his continued journey into Macedonia, ii. 13.

Then follows the first main digression from the narrative, with an exposition of the character of the new covenant and the gospel ministry, occupying four chapters, or nearly one-third of the whole. The sequence is then resumed, as follows:

Sixthly, his troubles in Macedonia, after his arrival. "For when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side," vii. 5.

Seventhly, the arrival of Titus, and his report of the wholesome effects of the letter, vii. 6-16.

Eighthly, his own account of the zeal and liberality of the Macedonian converts, viii. 1-5.

Ninthly, the request that Titus would revisit Corinth, and his ready compliance, viii. 6-17.

Tenthly, the choice of his companions, and instructions how to welcome them, viii. 18-24.

We have then a chapter of advice on the contribution, two chapters of exhortation, on the more general and distant prospect of St. Paul's own visit, and a final warning of it as very near at hand, with an anticipation of his own course upon his arrival at Corinth.

Now this perfect continuity, amidst long and various digressions, this thread of concealed narrative, interwoven with doctrinal instructions and earnest practical appeals, is quite conceivable and natural in the apostle himself, writing in the midst of the events, but is without example in any spurious writing. I am not aware of any critic or commentator, who has ever detected this secret principle of arrangement; yet when once pointed out, its existence is evident, and becomes a conspicuous sign of historical reality.

No. III.

2 Cor. viii. 18, 19. "And we have sent with him our brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches; and not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace, which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and declaration of your ready mind."

Vers. 22, 23. "And we have sent with them our brother, whom we have oftentimes proved diligent in many things, but now much more diligent, upon the great confidence which he hath in you. Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ."

2 Cor. xii. 18. "I desired Titus, and with him I sent a brother. Did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit? walked we not in the same steps?"

This mode of introducing the companions of Titus, without so much as naming them, yet with a distinctive commendation of each, has a great air of reality. It is just what would be natural in St. Paul, who was sure that the Corinthians either knew their names already, or would learn them upon their arrival, but whose description of their merits was essential, to secure them a due welcome. Yet this mention could answer no object of a spurious writing, since to this hour there is a great diversity of opinion, who these companions really were. Let us see if we cannot discover a very probable solution, which bears the marks of a real coincidence.

First, is the brother in the second passage the same with the first or second of those in the former text, or distinct from both? It is sometimes assumed that he was the same with the former. Yet I think this the least likely of the three

alternatives. For if this brother had visited Corinth so lately, and was therefore well known to them in person, would St. Paul have thought this full introduction requisite, which contains no allusion to his presence with them previously? On the other hand, the shorter description of the second brother, who had often been diligent in similar errands, will suit perfectly with the hypothesis that he had attended Titus once before. The force of the article is also better explained on this view, than if we suppose a third brother introduced in the second passage. The visit of Titus, however, it has been shown already, was not the same as when he brought the first epistle, but one still earlier, in the previous year, when he set on foot the contribution at Corinth.

Mr. Biley, in his *Supplement to the Horæ*, supposes that Erastus is meant by the first brother in this passage. He argues that there was no reason why St. Paul should speak to them in this way of a stranger, known merely as his companion, but only of a Corinthian. Now Erastus was a Corinthian, a companion of St. Paul in his travels, and was probably with him when this letter was written, since he had been sent along with Timothy into Macedonia. Also that he would naturally delay his return, like Paul and Apollos, while the disorders prevailed, and hasten back when he learned the wholesome effect of the apostle's letter.

To this view there is one decisive and fatal objection. The brother in question was not only a companion of St. Paul, but chosen by the churches to travel with him as a trustee of the pecuniary contribution. This is quite plain from ver. 20, 21. Hence he must be one who attended St. Paul to Jerusalem. But this was not true of Erastus, for his name does not appear in the book of Acts among the companions of the apostle on that journey.

Indeed, the description of this brother seems more suitable, if he were almost or altogether a stranger to the Corinthians. Men do not give notes of introduction for a person to his intimate friends. It is a more natural inference, that the first brother, described more fully, was a comparative stranger to the Corinthians, and the other, more briefly introduced, either a Corinthian, or considerably better known among them.

Let us see now whether the marks given will not be enough to identify him, with the help of the history. He was chosen, we are told, by the churches, to travel along with St. Paul, as

a kind of trustee in the business of the contribution. Now in Acts xx. 4, we have a list of his companions at the outset, namely, Sopater, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, and Luke himself, the historian. To one of these our choice is therefore rigorously confined. Sopater, from the text, seems only to have gone as far as Asia. Timothy is not intended, since the apostle joins him in the superscription of the letter. The choice is thus restricted to Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Tychicus, Trophimus, and Luke. Three only of these are expressly shown in the history to have attended St. Paul as far as Jerusalem, namely, Luke, Aristarchus, and Trophimus. Hence it is much more probable, at least, that one of these is the person intended by the apostle. To which of them, it remains to inquire, will the title most fully apply, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches? Even apart from the written gospel, it is clear that St. Luke has the fairest claim. For he was St. Paul's companion in preaching the gospel at his first entrance into Europe (Acts xvi. 10), while Aristarchus was a Jew of Thessalonica (Acts xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10, 11), and Trophimus, a Gentile of Ephesus (Acts xxi. 29), and therefore most probably converted to the faith after the labours of St. Luke as an evangelist were already begun.

The words, however, seem plainly used as a distinctive title, by which this companion of St. Paul might be discriminated from others. If the name of this brother had been given, we should naturally interpret the commendation as a simple statement, which might be equally true of many others besides. But here it replaces his name as a more expressive definition. Now we have seen already that our choice is limited, probably to three, certainly to six persons, independently of this phrase. And since one of these is distinguished from all the others, and indeed from all St. Paul's companions, as the only author of a written Gospel, and of that Gospel which bears internal marks of being specially designed for the Gentile converts, we are shut up to the conclusion, that St. Luke, and he only, is the person really intended by this description.

The only ground for reasonable hesitation arises from the doubt whether his Gospel was written so early. Many critics, it is true, place it six or seven years later, though on very insufficient grounds. In fact, this passage itself, which almost

forces us to the conclusion above, is of far more weight, in such a minute question of chronology, than all the later evidence, which is of a very vague and uncertain kind. If the first Epistle to Timothy were written, as many critics hold, about the same time as this epistle, the question would be settled at once; since the Gospel of St. Luke is distinctly quoted in it as inspired Scripture. And even placing it more correctly near seven years later, still the quotation of it, as of equal authority with the law of Moses, within so few years, must be a strong presumption that it was already in circulation at the earlier date.

The coincidence thus deduced is very striking. St. Paul, before he visits Corinth, sends with Titus "the brother, whose praise is in the gospel and throughout all the churches," and whom they had chosen to assist in conveying their alms to Jerusalem. This seems to imply that he had resided some time among them before this visit of St. Paul, whose companion he was to be henceforward until the commission was fulfilled. In the history, St. Luke, one of the two evangelists who were not apostles, after parting from St. Paul at Philippi six years before, and having since then ceased to be his constant attendant in his journeys, as he silently marks by his change of the pronouns in his history, is found in his company in Macedonia after this visit to Corinth, and attends him afterwards to Jerusalem, and even to Rome, as an inseparable companion. Yet these facts are indicated in the most unobtrusive manner, by a mere change in the pronouns. "We sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread."

It remains to inquire who is the second brother. We may here attain a probable, though not so certain a conclusion. He was not a Corinthian, or St. Paul could hardly have used those words, "whether our brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers of the churches and the glory of Christ." He was not a Macedonian, for then the contrast would be lost; "Lest haply if they of Macedonia come, and find you unprepared," etc. If, as most probable, the same who had been sent with Titus before, (xii. 18,) he was then sent from Ephesus, and would probably be an Ephesian. If he took such a prominent part in forwarding the contribution at Corinth, he would be not unlikely to take a similar part in accompanying it to Jerusalem. Now this might possibly be

true of Tychicus, but was certainly true of Trophimus only; and therefore it is likely that Trophimus was the second companion of Titus now, as well as his sole companion on the former visit, a year before.

It is true that the brief hints do not allow us to decide, in this case, with absolute certainty. Yet it is a strong sign of truth that we find two characters in the history in whom all these various hints, as to the second brother, would be satisfied, while there is one, and only one, who fully satisfies the more definite description of the brother whose praise in the gospel was throughout all the churches.

No. IV.

2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. "In Damascus, the governor (or ethnarch) under Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me: and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands."

Let us compare the passage in Acts: "And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him: but their laying await was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket."

Paley has observed on these passages, that they agree in the main fact, but with such a difference of circumstances, as to make it utterly improbable that one was derived from the other. Hence their agreement can be explained only by the reality of the fact to which they refer as their common foundation.

This general remark admits of further confirmation. For these very differences, when closely examined, present new points of coincidence. The plot is ascribed to the Jews in the history; but in the epistle, to the governor or ethnarch under Aretas the king. Now the ethnarch, we may learn from other authorities, was a Jewish officer, to whom the heathen rulers gave separate authority over the Jews, in the large cities, where they were numerous, like Damascus and Alexandria. Also the ambush of the Jews, in Acts, is referred to a *συμβουλή*, or deliberate consultation, which almost implies a public or official, though a secret conspiracy.

Again, the historian says nothing of the window, nor the epistle, of its happening in the night. Yet it is equally

natural that a time of darkness should be chosen for his escape, and that a window in the upper part of the wall should be preferred, as less exposed to observation, than an attempt to let him down over the parapets.

The passage in the epistle appears like an after thought. It is added, when he has already given a rapid sketch of his sufferings, and confirmed it by that solemn declaration: "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever, knoweth that I lie not." Now the event itself was soon after his conversion, before the commencement of his labours as the apostle of Christ. It was the most remote instance of the persecutions he endured, and stood alone. How natural that it should have been omitted at first in this brief and condensed catalogue; and that the apostle, after a pause of thought, reviewing his whole course a second time, should then revert to this earliest persecution, the pattern and warning of so many that were to follow. Any one writing later, or deriving his knowledge at second hand, would have mentioned the occurrence, if introduced at all, in its historical order, and have placed it at the head of the list.

No. V.

2 Cor. xii. 12, 13. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds. For what is it wherein you were inferior to other churches, except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? Forgive me this wrong."

The former verse contains a distinct assertion, that St. Paul had wrought many miracles during his stay at Corinth. Yet the very next verse, when closely examined, discloses marks of historical reality beyond the reach of imitation.

First, it is implied that the Corinthians had not contributed to his support. And this is confirmed by the history, which says, that he abode with Aquila, and wrought there at tent-making; by the letter to the Philippians, where he says, that no other church contributed to his support at that time, "in the beginning of the gospel, when he departed from Macedonia;" and by the former epistle: "Have we not power to eat and to drink? But I have used none of these things."

Next, it is further implied that a claim to such support was one privilege of the apostolic office. The turn of thought can only be explained by this key. Every other sign, he tells

them, was given them, except this one only. Now this view agrees with his own statement to the Thessalonians—"We might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ." Next, in the former epistle: "Am I not an apostle? Have we not power to eat and to drink?" Lastly, with the principles he has twice or three times laid down, Rom. xv. 27; 1 Cor. ix. 11.

Finally, it is here implied, that his refusal of such support from the Corinthians was really the denial of a privilege, and a mark of their spiritual inferiority. Now that this was really the view of the apostle appears, first, from his words to the elders at Miletus, Acts xx. 35: "I have showed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the *weak*, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive." Next, from his statement to the Philippians: "No church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only Not because I desire a gift: but I desire fruit that may abound to your account." Thirdly, from the reason before assigned for his own conduct: "As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of Achaia. Wherefore? because I love you not? God knoweth. But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion." It was the readiness of some among them to view his conduct with suspicion, which compelled him to withhold this mark of his full confidence. The same view of their spiritual backwardness appears also 1 Cor. iii. 1-4.

Now it is only when these various hints are combined, that the exact meaning of the second verse comes to light, and the mingled justice and delicacy of the reproof. They ought to have felt it the denial of a privilege, and a mark of spiritual nonage, that St. Paul refused so perseveringly to borrow any part of his own support from them. In their actual state, Christian wisdom prescribed this conduct to him. But he felt it, as the more spiritual among them would also feel it, not so much the relieving them from a burden, as the denial of one sign of his apostleship, a natural result and open badge of their spiritual weakness. Hence the same words, which are a serious excuse for his conduct, as addressed to the more faithful among them, are a refined and delicate irony to the selfish and suspicious. "Wherein were ye inferior to other churches," what other sign of my apostleship was withheld,

“except that I myself did not burden you? Forgive me this wrong.” Such a stroke of mingled satire and pathos, confirmed in the fact it assumes and the principles on which the appeal is founded, by such a variety of coincidences, is inimitably real. Yet its whole force depends on the fact being notorious to all the Corinthian believers, that every other sign of apostleship had really been exhibited among them, “in *signs*, and *wonders*, and *mighty deeds*.”

CHAPTER V.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THIS letter of St. Paul, being addressed to a church he had never visited, is naturally less fertile in historical allusions than those to the Corinthians. Paley, however, has traced out, in eight distinct articles, many indirect coincidences with the history and the other letters, and most of them are peculiarly striking and impressive. Those which remain to be noticed are rather to be viewed as supplementary to his remarks than as opening fresh topics which had not been already touched upon. Yet some of them may perhaps deserve to be ranked as distinct arguments.

No. I.

Rom. xiv. 1. “Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations.”

The whole passage, which begins with these words, has a remarkably close resemblance to another in the first Epistle to the Corinthians (viii. 1-13, ix. 1-20). Let us compare them with each other.

The general subject, in both cases, is certain scruples of conscience with regard to particular kinds of food. In both, the apostle lays down the same principle, the lawfulness of these meats in themselves, and the duty of regarding the consciences of weak brethren. But the very phrases and succession of thought are nearly the same.

Ch. xiv. 14. “I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean.”

1 Cor. viii. 8. “But meat commendeth us not to God: for

neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse."

Ch. xiv. 15. "But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died."

1 Cor. viii. 9-11. "But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak. For if any man see thee which hast knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him which is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to idols? And through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died?"

Ch. xiv. 19. "Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another."

1 Cor. x. 32, 33. "Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God: even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved."

Ch. xiv. 21. "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak."

1 Cor. viii. 13. "Wherefore if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

Ch. xv. 2. "Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification."

1 Cor. x. 24. "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth."

A view of the entire passage, in each case, will render the comparison still more striking. Now the circumstances of time and place, when combined together, render this agreement very natural. The interval of the letters was not great, being about nine or ten months, from April or May in one year until February in the year following. What explains it still more completely is, that the second letter was written from the very place to which the former was addressed; so that the apostle, for three months before, had doubtless been repeating his written instructions, by word of mouth, to the very parties for whom the letter was written. It is therefore doubly natural that, in writing to the Romans from Corinth, the same train of thought on this practical subject should reappear.

There is a further harmony with the facts in the difference of the two passages. The decree of the council, which confirmed the liberty of the Gentiles, and still imposed a few simple restrictions out of regard to the habits of the Jews, would be exposed to infraction in two opposite ways. The Judaizers would desire to reimpose the whole of the ceremonial law, while an opposite party would urge the general principle, in order to supersede the restrictions that were still enjoined. St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, has to defend the liberty of the gospel against the first class of adversaries. In writing to the Corinthians, where the Gentile party was much the most numerous, and pride of knowledge the besetting sin, he has to contend against the opposite extreme, and to urge the obligation of waving the use of an abstract liberty, whenever it served to perplex and confound the conscience of others. He thus vindicates against the Corinthian converts from among the Gentiles the restriction against the use of meats offered to idols, at the same time explaining under what circumstances the prohibition would really apply.

On the other hand, in writing to the Romans, whom he had not visited, and where the Gentile accessions hitherto were, perhaps, hardly a balance for the Jewish converts, he follows a middle course, and holds the scales with an even balance. Every caution against a needless scrupulosity is paired with another against an uncharitable laxity. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him." "But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ." "I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean." "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. And he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

This one-sidedness in the reasoning with the Judaizing Galatians, and the Gentilizing Corinthians, and this studied balance of warning and caution to the Romans, where it is reasonable to believe that the parties were nearly balanced, or at least, where the apostle gave an abstract lesson to guard

against probable evils, is just what might be expected in real letters. If the remarks are well founded, as careful observation will prove, they exhibit a coincidence far too delicate and profound to be explained by anything else than the reality of the correspondence, and the deep wisdom of the great apostle.

No. II.

Rom. xv. 20-24. "Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation: but as it is written, To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see: and they that have not heard shall understand. For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming to you. But now having no longer a place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you; whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company."

In No. III. on this epistle, Paley derives a striking argument from the comparison of this passage with one in Acts xix. It will furnish another, however, scarcely less conclusive, by comparing it with 2 Cor. x. 14-16, which Paley has also adduced (No. XII.) for a different purpose.

"For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you also in preaching the gospel of Christ: not boasting of things without our measure, of other men's labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand."

The principle, on which the apostle declares himself to have acted, is the same in both passages, though under a different metaphor, from the measure of a field, or from the foundation and progress of a building. In one case, it is given simply by way of explanation; in the other, as a reproof to the vain-glory of false teachers, who sought to lessen his authority in a church which he alone had founded. The actual purpose in both cases is the same also, but stated with a similar diversity. When writing to Corinth, his chief object was to rebuke the self-conceit of these false apostles, and hence his plan is stated in the most general terms. He hoped, if his visit to them

were successful, to preach the gospel in certain regions beyond them, where Christ was not yet named. In writing to Rome, his object is to explain his plan for visiting them, and he therefore enters into a fuller statement. Spain, it now appears, is the region he had in view; but still he purposed to touch at Rome in his way, that he might impart to them some spiritual gifts, and be refreshed by their sympathy. Still, he would not make it his chief object, because the foundation had been already laid in that city by others. This substantial agreement of the two passages, while there is such a contrast in their explicitness of statement, and when we remark further how appropriate each of them is in its own context, and how pertinent to the design of the apostle, is a clear proof, even if it stood alone, that both letters grew out of real circumstances, and are historically genuine.

No. III.

Rom. xvi. 3, 5. "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus: who have for my life laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the church that is in their house. Salute my well-beloved Epenetus, who is the first fruits of Achaia (*Asia, Bengel, Griesb. Scholz.*) unto Christ."

In No. II. of the *Horæ*, this passage is adduced for several congruities which it supplies respecting the character and residence of Aquila and Priscilla. The present commendation is referred by Paley to their conduct during their stay with the apostle at Corinth. In this one particular his view seems to admit of correction and improvement, while a new light is thrown on the reality of the whole statement.

And first, the words are most natural, if the occurrence itself was of recent date. It would then be impressed more vividly on the mind of the apostle, and be more suitable for a commendation of Aquila and Priscilla to the brethren at Rome. The abode at Corinth, however, was five or six years before, and the apostle laboured in that city without actual peril of death, since he had the distinct promise from the first, "No man shall set on thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city." The abortive attempt of the Jews only recoiled upon themselves.

Only nine or ten months, however, before the date of this

letter, as may be deduced by a careful comparison of many notes of time, the apostle had suffered the most imminent danger at Ephesus. In the last epistle before the present one, he speaks of it in the strongest terms. "We would not have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, inso-much that we despaired even of life." And again, "Who delivered us out of so great a death, and doth deliver, in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us."

But since Aquila and Priscilla were now at Rome, was it possible or probable that they should be present with the apostle in this time of trouble? The answer is found in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, written, as I have shown, about a month before the tumult: "Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord."

Is there, however, any hint or likelihood that they endangered their own lives for the apostle at this time? If we turn to the history, we have a statement which tallies well with the supposition, though Aquila is not named. "And the whole city was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, *the disciples suffered him not.*" Now we know from the epistle that Aquila and Priscilla were then at Ephesus, and from the history that they were St. Paul's most intimate friends. Hence it follows, almost of necessity, that they were among those disciples who interfered to prevent him from endangering his life still more in the theatre. It is true that the history does not supply the fact mentioned in the letter; but it supplies every circumstance, when compared with 1 Cor. xvi., which could make such an occurrence highly probable;—their intimate friendship with the apostle, their presence at Ephesus just before the tumult, his imminent peril, so that he despaired of life, the love of the disciples, which kept him back from almost certain destruction, and the enduring rancour of the Jews of Ephesus, as proved by their outcry not long after at Jerusalem. We cannot doubt that Aquila and Priscilla would be foremost, in that hour of danger, with their most strenuous exertions to save the apostle; and at such a crisis it would be, almost certainly, at the peril of their own lives.

The words that follow are a further coincidence. For all the best critics adopt the reading, which seems undoubtedly correct. "Salute my well-beloved Epenetus, who is the first fruits of *Asia* unto Christ." If the apostle had just reverted to his peril in *Asia*, he would naturally, by association of thought, continue his salutation with one who was "the first fruits of *Asia*" among all his acquaintances at Rome. It is also a very reasonable conjecture that Aquila, Priscilla, and Epenetus, had all been compelled to leave Ephesus soon after the tumult, in consequence of their zeal in defence of the apostle at that time.

One possible objection alone remains. If the allusion were to this Gentile tumult, why should the apostle specify "the churches of the Gentiles" as those on whose gratitude Aquila and Priscilla had so strong a claim? It is a sufficient reply, that St. Paul was confessedly the apostle of the Gentiles, and the preservation of his life, by whatever enemies it was endangered, would be a solid ground for this appeal to the Gentile churches. And besides, it is certain that Jewish opposition was uncommonly bitter at Ephesus, and quite possible that, even at the time of the tumult, the immediate danger which Aquila incurred was from the malice of the Jews, rather than of the Gentiles.

No. IV.

The salutations which occupy the last chapter of the epistle, being addressed to a place which St. Paul never visited, until the close of St. Luke's history, it becomes impossible, from the want of materials for comparison, to bring to light many coincidences. Yet there are not a few marks of reality, of a more general nature, which may be detected even here. It may be convenient to include these in one miscellaneous article, with one or two slight corrections of Paley's observations.

First, it may seem strange that there should be so large a list of salutations in this letter to a church which St. Paul had never visited. But when we remember that Rome was the grand centre of intercourse, and the metropolis of the world, and that Jews from Rome were present and converted, even on the day of Pentecost, we shall find in this circumstance one mark of consistency and truth.

"Greet Mary, who bestowed much labour upon us." This

Jewish name was so common, that the person intended could only be known by the circumstance of her having ministered personally to the apostle. It seems also implied that the numbers of the church were comparatively small, and the members, with the leading facts of their previous life, known to each other.

“ Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me.” This passing tribute of honour was only possible from the peculiar facts of St. Paul’s history. There was no other apostle who could have addressed such a statement with truth to any individual in any of the churches. The other phrase is obscure, and that very obscurity is a sign of historical truth. Its most natural meaning is, that they were conspicuous among a class here called apostles. Yet it is certain that they were not apostles of Christ, like St. Paul and the twelve. But the difficulty is removed by another passage, 2 Cor. viii. 23, where St. Paul writes of the two companions of Titus, in his visit to Corinth: “ They are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ.” It is quite natural that these kinsmen of St. Paul, who were converted before him, and had suffered imprisonment along with him, should hold a conspicuous place among these messengers of the churches, whose honour was inferior only to that of the apostles themselves.

Again, this is the only letter where Timothy is present, and not joined in the superscription. The reason of the difference is clear. Since Paul had not been at or near Rome, his ground for addressing them rested solely on his apostolic office, and not on his personal labours among them. Hence Timothy is excluded from the superscription with the same propriety which accounts for his mention in the other cases. For even in the epistle to Colosse, though Paul and Timothy had probably not visited it, they had preached together in all the surrounding region, both in Pamphylia to the east, and Asia to the west.

Paley has remarked, that of the seven names in the salutation, three are found with Paul on leaving Macedonia, a coincidence as great as could be expected from reality, though less than would have been produced by design. It is tolerably clear that two only are the same. For the Gaius in the epistle is a Corinthian, but the Gaius in Acts is of Derbe in

Asia Minor. And it seems that a third Gaius, a Macedonian, is mentioned in the previous chapter. It is certainly possible that Gaius of Derbe, and Gaius the Macedonian, might be the same, one being his native place, and the other his home; but it is hardly possible that the host of the whole church at Corinth, and one of the first believers baptized in that city, should be a Macedonian, or a native or inhabitant of Derbe. But when we remember that Gaius was nearly the most common name among the Romans, the setting aside of a spurious coincidence only reveals another feature of internal probability.

The conjecture that Lucius may be the same with Lucas, is also probably unfounded. The double form, Silas and Silvanus, implies that Lucanus, and not Lucius, would be the only alternative form of the name of the evangelist. And since Titus does not appear in the list, nor Tychicus or Trophimus, it may be inferred that all those messengers who were sent to Corinth returned to Macedonia before the present letter was written. It is possible that he is the same with Lucius of Cyrene. Yet another conjecture is more natural. Jason, we know, was of Thessalonica, and Sosipater, or Sopater, of Berea; and it is probable that, since Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea, were the three successive stations and centres of St. Paul's labours in Macedonia, one companion from each would attend him to Corinth, and that Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater, were from those towns respectively. We shall still have this imperfect coincidence, that Lucius alone of the three was a Roman name, and that Philippi alone of the three cities was a Roman colony.

The greeting from Erastus not only accords with the passage in the second to Timothy, but with the statements in the book of Acts. He was one of those who ministered to the apostle, and was sent before him into Macedonia along with Timothy. Yet Timothy is among his companions on leaving Macedonia, but not Erastus. It is thus implied that he stayed behind, either in Macedonia or Achaia. The letter indirectly explains the circumstance. He held, it seems, a public station at Corinth, and, after an absence of more than a year, his stay might be almost necessary.

These correspondencies, though separately they may be somewhat hypothetical, form a cumulative presumption of reality, which has no little weight.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EPISTLES TO ASIA FROM ROME.

It is generally agreed that the three letters to the Ephesians, the Colossians, and Philemon, were written from Rome during the two years' imprisonment, with which the sacred history closes. The usual opinion is, that they were written very nearly together, and dispatched by the same messengers in one single journey. In this case it is plain, from the letter to Philemon, that their date was towards the close of that imprisonment. The first of them is almost entirely destitute of historical allusions, and the two others are addressed to a place which St. Paul seems not to have visited. These reasons conspire with their date, at the very close of the book of Acts, to prevent us from expecting numerous coincidences. The twelve articles in the *Horæ* have nearly exhausted the subject; but still a short chapter may be usefully occupied with a few topics, which deserve, and will perhaps repay, a fuller examination.

No. I.

Eph. i. 1.—“Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.”

In the *Horæ* Paulinæ, Paley has touched on the much debated question, whether the present epistle were addressed to Ephesus or Laodicea, and has decided in favour of the latter view. Grotius, Wetstein, and others before him, and more recently Mr. Greswell in his *Dissertations*, give the same decision. There is a third alternative which he has not considered, in the view of archbishop Usher, Hammond, Koppe, Hug, Michaelis and others, that it was a circular epistle, designed for several churches, including both Ephesus and Laodicea.

The claim of Ephesus lies in the external evidence, since the name occurs in nearly all the existing manuscripts and versions. But there are two or three facts which diminish its force considerably. Marcian is blamed by Tertullian for calling it the letter to the Laodiceans. Again, in the Vatican manuscript, the words, “in Ephesus,” are only in the margin, though by the same hand. But the chief testimony is that of Basil, writing against Eunomius, in these words—

"For in another place also the same apostle, speaking by the Spirit of God, calls the Gentiles 'things which are not,' from their being deprived of the knowledge of God, saying that God hath chosen the things which are not. For since God is in truth and life, they who are not united by faith to the God who is, but are settled in disobedience and falsehood by the delusion of idolatry, through their privation of the truth, and alienation from the life, are reasonably, I think, styled 'those who are not.' Nay, moreover, writing to the Ephesians, as truly united by knowledge to Him who is, he called them distinctively, 'those who are,' saying 'to the saints who are, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus.' For so those who lived before us have handed down, and we have found it so in the ancient copies (*καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὐρήκαμεν*)."

Three or four manuscripts, old in the time of Basil, if they were now extant, would be held to balance or outweigh in authority all the rest. Yet from this express declaration, we may be almost as certain that the words, "in Ephesus," were then absent in several earlier manuscripts, as if they were now under our own eyes. And hence the argument from external consent is almost, if not altogether, neutralized by this very plain testimony, that a different reading, without name of place, was very usual in the earliest times.

Next, the words in the epistle to the Colossians are a decisive proof that the other was designed, at least, inclusively for the Laodiceans. "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea." It is plain that the allusion is to some other letter of the apostle, which was to reach Colosse by way of Laodicea, after being publicly read in that church. Now this must plainly be the actual letter to the Ephesians. For this was written at the same time, and forwarded by the same messenger, besides the agreement in the general character of both letters. Hence that letter must have been intended, by express instructions of the apostle, to be sent to the Laodiceans, and read publicly in their church.

Thirdly, the letter was not properly or exclusively to the Laodiceans; for this is opposed to all the external and also to internal evidence. All the existing manuscripts read, "to

the saints in Ephesus," and all those early manuscripts which Basil consulted, "to the saints which are," without any name of place; but we have no testimony to any manuscript with the reading, "to the saints in Laodicea." And again, if it were properly a letter to the Laodiceans, why should not St. Paul have so described it, instead of the more general phrase, denoting the place where it would be found, not necessarily the parties addressed—"the letter from Loadicea?"

Again, it is very unlikely that St. Paul, writing from Rome by Tychicus, an Ephesian, should entirely overlook the church where he laboured three years, and address two letters to two places he had never visited, within fifty miles of each other. This internal difficulty is perhaps even more decisive than the one just explained, against an exclusive direction to Laodicea.

Finally, that it was not exclusively designed for the church at Ephesus, as Paley has shown, rests on the strongest internal evidence. We must set aside all those marks of congruity, by which every other letter proves itself so admirably suited for its specific object, before we can acquiesce in such a view. On this hypothesis, the letter addressed to the church where St. Paul laboured the longest is precisely the most devoid of local and personal allusions. Nor is this, however grave, the sole difficulty. Let us weigh the two following passages, and their inconsistency with such an exclusive destination is apparent.

- "Wherefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers."

"For this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles—if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to youward, how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery; (as I wrote afore in few words, whereby, when ye read, ye may be able to understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ) whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power."

These reasons, when all combined, serve to establish the view of Usher, adopted since by Koppe, Hug, Michaelis and others, that the present was a circular epistle, designed for

several churches of Lydian Asia, and in which the name of the place was left vacant, to be supplied by the reader in each of the churches for which it was designed.

It may perhaps be objected, as it is by Mr. Greswell, who advocates an exclusive address to Laodicea, that if Ephesus were included, the conjecture leaves us in the same perplexity as before. But the objection is clearly groundless. A letter expressly designed for the use of many churches, must have been adapted to the state of the greater number; and if none of them, except Ephesus, had been visited by the apostle, the letter must have assumed its present character, just as if Ephesus had been excluded entirely.

Again, it may seem incongruous, that a circular letter should be sent to several churches, including one where St. Paul had stayed so long, and a distinct letter to Colosse, which he had never visited. But here also the solution is easy. The mission of Onesimus rendered it necessary that St. Paul should write to Philemon. In this case it was only suitable and natural that he should write also to the church at Colosse, of which Philemon was a private member. On the other hand, the instruction added for a mutual communication with Laodicea, removes all appearance of inequality. And besides, Colosse was in Phrygia, and might be viewed as representing the churches of another province.

But if the letter was a circular, for what churches was it designed, and how may we suppose that it was communicated to them? The most natural reply is, to the seven churches, afterwards addressed by St. John, or those of them which already existed, and this might be true already of the whole number. The view of Michaelis, that St. Paul had several copies written, and filled with the name of different places, is highly improbable, and will not explain the reading to which Basil refers. We may suppose rather that Tychicus and Onesimus landed with it at Ephesus, and read it first in that church, supplying the name in the public reading, and communicating orally whatever was special to that place in the instructions of the apostle. They might then proceed in order through the other churches, to Laodicea, where they might leave it to be copied and then forwarded, while they went on to fulfil their mission at Colosse. It would thus be, by the instructions of St. Paul himself, the letter from Laodicea, when it reached the Colossians. Tychicus would

probably wait at Colosse till its arrival, and then return with it to Ephesus, and there deposit it in the custody of the parent church, the first in order of those to which it was addressed. We thus account at once for the absence of any name in the ancient copies which Basil consulted, which would be exact copies of the autograph, and from the insertion of Ephesus alone in all the others, since the custody of it was committed to that church. This view alone seems to remove all difficulty, and to reconcile the internal and external evidence. The obscure text in Colossians thus becomes a remarkable coincidence, and the key to explain the peculiar character of the letter, and to reconcile the statements of Basil with the actual text.

No. II.

Eph. vi. 21. "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things."

In these words we have a probable confirmation of the above, and that the letter was not addressed to Ephesus alone. For in this case it would be as natural for St. Paul to say here of Tychicus as he does of Onesimus in the letter to Colosse, "the faithful and beloved brother, *who is one of you.*"

It is assumed in the Horæ that this journey of Tychicus is the same as when he conveyed, along with Onesimus, the two other letters to Colosse. Since, however, professor Hug views them as distinct, and even places the second Epistle to Timothy between them, a few words in proof of their identity seem desirable, to preclude all doubt of the force of Paley's observations. It is indeed strange that the learned writer could suppose a letter, so totally different in its character and tone, to have intervened between these, where the resemblance is so marked and peculiar. The hypothesis would entirely set aside all possibility of inferring the comparative date from the general style. But in reality, the conclusions from the style, and from the historical marks, agree perfectly together.

The hypothesis of professor Hug is the following:—"Tychicus carried both epistles to Asia, but at different times; first, that to the Ephesians and the second to Timothy, then those to the Colossians and Philemon; the first two at the

beginning of his imprisonment, before Paul was examined, and the last two in the following year, when his fortune gradually brightened; for in the Epistle to Philemon, the apostle expects his speedy liberation.

“When the Epistle to the Ephesians was written, Timothy was not with him, but joined him at a later period, and in the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon his name stands side by side with the apostle’s. Secondly, Luke was in company with St. Paul, (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24). Thirdly, Mark was also with him at the date of these two later epistles. Fourthly, Tychicus was at that time a letter-bearer and a deacon, and sent especially to Asia, Eph. iv. 21; Col. iv. 7, 8. All these circumstances appear again in the second to Timothy. He was not with Paul, but was summoned by him. Secondly, Luke was with him. Thirdly, he desires Mark to come with Timothy, so that he must have been with him during the imprisonment. Fourthly, Tychicus was present as the letter-bearer, and sent especially to Asia, 2 Tim. iv. 11, 12.”

These remarks merely prove how seductive and dangerous a proof of identity may be which rests only on a selection of particulars. That Timothy, Mark, and Luke should be present with St. Paul in each imprisonment, and that in each of them Tychicus should be sent to Asia, is surely not at all improbable. Yet this is the whole amount of the argument. For the absence of Timothy, at the date of the letter to the Ephesians, is inferred much too confidently from the usage in other epistles. He was present when St. Paul wrote to Rome, and still his name does not appear in the superscription.

The three arguments of Paley are decisive. First, Demas had forsaken St. Paul at the date of the letter to Timothy, but he is still present in those to Colosse and Philemon, which the hypothesis fixes later. Next, it would be needless to tell Timothy that Erastus stayed at Corinth, if the reference were to the journey in Acts, since Timothy was with St. Paul at the time. Thirdly, Trophimus was not left at Miletus on that journey, but attended St. Paul to Jerusalem.

But other objections remain of equal weight. If the letter to Timothy was written in the first year of that imprisonment, and he was expected to arrive from Asia before winter, it must have been written not much later than midsummer,

only three or four months after St. Paul arrived at Rome. But Aristarchus was present with St. Paul as a fellow-prisoner on that voyage, and at the date of the letter to Colosse. It is morally certain, then, that he continued a prisoner with him during the interval, or at the very least, that if he were absent, St. Paul would have mentioned his departure. But no mention occurs either of the presence or absence of Aristarchus in the letter to Timothy. There is the same silence respecting Jesus Justus, and Epaphras. When St. Paul parted from Asia before that imprisonment, not only Timothy was with him, but there was no such desertion as is described 2 Tim. i. 15. It is improbable, again, that Titus would be sent to Dalmatia at a time when St. Paul had not visited that province, and hardly approached its border, and the instruction respecting the cloak at Troas becomes very unnatural, if we suppose that the interval was one of three years, as in this case it must have been. Why should not the apostle have sent for it during his stay for two years at Casarea, when his acquaintance were allowed to visit him, and messengers or converts from that district must have so often come to Palestine. That all should forsake the apostle within a few months after his arrival is most improbable, when we observe that his accusers, the Jews, had not even ventured to send in their charge, and Festus and Agrippa had both declared before the voyage that there was no ground for sending him to Rome but his own appeal. An interval of three years, instead of six or seven, is much less likely, for the return of Aquila and Priscilla to Ephesus, who had left it for Rome during the apostle's last visit to Greece in the book of Acts.

The disproof of Hug's hypothesis being thus complete, we may safely infer that Tychicus was sent once only to Asia during the first imprisonment, and that the three letters, as Paley assumes, were carried to their destination in one and the same journey.

No. III.

Col. iv. 10. "Aristarchus, my fellow-prisoner, saluteth you, and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, (touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him.)"

The coincidence in the words before the parenthesis has been unfolded by Paley, in No. II. on this epistle. But the

parenthesis itself offers another more easily overlooked, and therefore perhaps even more striking.

First, why should a special direction be given them, to receive Mark, when no similar instance is found in all the epistles? Let us turn to Acts xv. 37-40, and the reason will be plain.

"And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark. But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other: and so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed to Cyprus; and Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren unto the grace of God."

Mark, it is thus plain, was for a time under a kind of ban or disgrace with the apostle, such as had occurred with no other Christian teacher. To undo the effects of this public censure at a later period, there would probably be required some special instruction to the churches.

Next, why should this allusion be found only in the letter to Colosse? It was a church which St. Paul had not founded, or even visited, as appears from Col. ii. 1, and the strain of the whole letter. How should they know of this censure under which Mark had lain, and why should they need instruction to receive him, as if otherwise they would have repelled him with a watchful suspicion?

The answer here also is very simple, though I am not aware whether it has been suggested by any commentator on the epistle. It was at Perga in Pamphylia (Acts xiii. 13, xv. 38) that Mark deserted Paul and Barnabas, and "went not with them to the work." Now Colosse is only about a hundred and ten miles from Perga, and less than twenty from the confines of Pisidia, throughout which province Paul and Barnabas preached on their return during the same journey. Perga and Antioch in Pisidia are the nearest to Colosse of all the stations of St. Paul recorded in the history. On his next journey, after the separation, through the central parts of Asia Minor, his displeasure against Mark, and the reason why Silas and not Barnabas was with him on the mission, would be deeply impressed on the Pisidian and Phrygian churches. Now, since these were the nearest to Colosse, and were evangelized several years before Ephesus, it is morally

certain that Colosse would receive the gospel from them, and partake in their prejudice against Mark, as a deserter from the work of the Lord. In this local relation of Colosse to Perga, and to the theatre of those two early circuits throughout Pisidia and Phrygia, we have a coincidence as real as it is evidently undesigned.

A third question arises, how and when could the Colossians have received this commandment, reversing the sentence against Mark, and recognising his return to the favour and confidence of the apostle? It is quite possible that such a message might have been sent from Rome, as soon as the apostle had found the comfort of Mark's help in the gospel. Yet we have no hint in the letters of such a previous message to Asia, and it seems rather unlikely that St. Paul should have sent one before to Colosse for such a purpose. Nor is it natural to suppose that ten years elapsed before the reconciliation.

But the history itself supplies a simpler and more probable key to this passage. After the separation and first journey of Paul and Silas through Pisidia and Phrygia they passed into Europe and stayed long at Corinth. The apostle then returned to Jerusalem at some feast, probably that of Pentecost. On this visit, he would be likely to meet with Mark and Barnabas, at Cæsarea or Jerusalem, returning to the same feast; or if not, at least he would be sure to hear of the consistent labours of the evangelist since they parted. Soon afterwards, St. Paul went down to Antioch, and then passed through Galatia and Phrygia, before he came down to the coast, and resided at Ephesus. It is therefore most likely that he would instruct the churches of Phrygia respecting his change of feeling towards Mark, and give them a charge to receive him with due honour whenever he should visit them as an evangelist of Christ. Now Colosse, though St. Paul had not visited it, belonged to the province of Phrygia. And if Mark was now proposing to visit Asia, and St. Paul had still fuller experience of his worth, it was very natural that he should enforce his general instruction to the Phrygian churches some years before, by a special admonition to Colosse, "Touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him."

The coincidence here is, to a certain extent, inferential and constructive. But it can scarcely be denied that the expla-

nation just proposed is highly probable; that it brings to light a beautiful and concealed harmony, and that it lies far removed from all suspicion of design.

No. IV.

Col. iv. 18. "The salutation by the hand of me Paul. Remember my bonds. Grace be with you. Amen."

Philem. 19. "I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it: albeit I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides."

These two letters were sent by the same messenger, one to the church of Colosse, and the other to Philemon. Yet we learn from these verses that, while in one letter St. Paul merely added the subscription, he wrote the other entirely with his own hand. Nothing can be more natural than the mention of the circumstance in the second case, to confirm the truth of his promise respecting Onesimus. And yet how appropriate and delicate the compliment to Philemon, that the apostle who wrote to the church by an amanuensis, should in his case deviate from his own ordinary practice, and prove his interest in the reconciliation of Onesimus to his master, by writing the whole letter with his own hand.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

THIS epistle, as it appears from the internal evidence, was written near the close of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, almost at the same point of time where the narrative in the book of Acts comes to an end. Short as it is, Paley has detected in it seven distinct marks of reality, which are developed very clearly in the *Horæ*. Enough still remain to reward our further inquiry.

No. I.

Phil. i. 1. "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."

This is the earliest letter of St. Paul where bishops and deacons are mentioned, and the only one where they are separately addressed in the salutation.

Now, here we may trace an agreement with the probable course of events, deduced alike from the letters and the history. While the apostles were constantly visiting the young churches, whether in person or by messengers, the appointment of regular pastors would either be delayed, or be felt of less importance. But when some of them were removed by death, and others removed to a distant sphere, or shut up in prison, it would be needful to provide for the permanent order of the various churches. Hence the three letters, which come later than the present one, are mainly occupied with instructions on these points, or warnings of the evils that would assail the church after the departure of the apostle. The previous letter to Colosse implies also that a pastoral appointment had recently occurred in that place. "Say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it."

It agrees exactly with this new want of the church, when other apostles had been martyred or removed far away, and St. Paul imprisoned for two years, in doubt of his life, and was now already "Paul the aged," that bishops and deacons should be prominent, for the first time, in the opening salutation. It is like an admonition of the Spirit, that the churches were to acquire the habit of looking up with reverence to their own pastors and teachers, now that the miraculous gifts were beginning to pass into God's ordinary providence, and the presence of the inspired apostles, the immediate dispensers of those gifts, was to be speedily withdrawn.

No. II.

Phil. ii. 19, 23-25. "But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. . . . Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly. Yet I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, and he that ministered to my wants."

Here three visits to Philippi are proposed in a distinct order. Epaphroditus was to set out at once, and plainly to be the bearer of the letter. Timothy was to follow immediately after the apostle's liberation was decided, but not

before. St. Paul himself hoped also to revisit them before long.

But why, we may ask, this complex arrangement? Was it not more natural that Epaphroditus should delay till Timothy could accompany him, or that Timothy should hasten his journey to travel with Epaphroditus or delay it, so as to accompany the apostle? The brief statement in the text, though rapid and condensed, supplies a full key to the arrangement. Epaphroditus had been delayed by sickness beyond the natural time of his absence, and thus had caused great anxiety to the Philippians. On his recovery, the apostle did not think it right to detain him still longer, to go with Timothy, and therefore dismissed him with the present affectionate letter. But why should not the journey of Epaphroditus spare the need of another of Timothy? Because he was to stay at Philippi, and what the apostle desired was more recent tidings of their prosperity. Then why should not Timothy go at once, along with Epaphroditus? Because he was to rejoin the apostle, while on a journey. If he had set out before the apostle knew the decision of his cause, and the time of his freedom, he must either have lost time in waiting for Timothy at Rome, or Timothy have been ignorant where to proceed, so as to bring tidings at once from Philippi. But why should not the apostle, if his deliverance was near, proceed at once to Philippi, and spare Timothy this separate journey? We shall see, from the later epistles, that he had decided on a much wider circuit, by Crete, Jerusalem, and Asia, before he could reach Macedonia. Finally, if St. Paul had heard of them so lately by Epaphroditus, why this urgent desire to hear from them again by Timothy? First, the letter implies that they were actually exposed to fierce opposition; and next, an illness of considerable length had intervened, so as to make the actual interval considerable. It is very probable that he would be sent from Philippi in the spring or summer of the second year. His illness would delay his return until the winter season rendered his departure unadvisable, and then the apostle, as soon as navigation became easy, sent him back to Philippi. Hence nearly a year might have passed since he sent out to Rome, and the apostle be desirous of later information. Thus every feature of the arrangement, though tried by these various tests, approves itself to the judgment, and becomes a pledge of the historical reality of the whole.

No. III.

Phil. ii. 20. "For I have no man likeminded, who will naturally care for your state. For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's."

This verse, at first sight, appears startling. St. Paul, when he wrote to Colosse, had Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Jesus Justus, and Epaphras, all with him. Does he mean here to condemn the fellow-prisoner and companion, who had partaken in all the perils of his voyage, and who seems to have stood before so high in his esteem? Or does he intend, when Timothy was about to visit Philippi, to teach him on his arrival his superiority to Luke and Mark, and Aristarchus, all probably his superiors in age, and apparently not less constant in their love to the apostle in this imprisonment?

On turning to the close of the epistle, this doubt is removed. Neither Mark, Luke, nor Aristarchus are there named as present, though two of them, at least, were well known at Philippi, and their greeting was sent to Colosse, which they probably had never visited. This is in itself a strong presumption that they had left him before this time: and this is confirmed by other reasons. Before this time, at the date of the letter to the Colossians, Mark seems to have purposed returning to Asia. The book of Acts, again, was most probably written about the close of St. Paul's imprisonment, and it is not unlikely that St. Luke would leave Rome, and return to Caesarea or Antioch, before he began its composition. Aristarchus, having been detained so much longer with the apostle than was contemplated at the outset of the journey, might also very probably have already left Rome, on his return to Thessalonica. It is a further presumption for this view, that none of their names appear in the Epistle to the Hebrews, written soon after from Italy, though all of them were well known to the Christians of Caesarea and Jerusalem. This coincidence is imperfect, from the want of fuller evidence; but so far as the evidence extends, it is satisfactory and complete. The expression used in praise of Timothy would seem invidious and perplexing, if Mark, Luke, and Aristarchus were with St. Paul at the time, as we know that they were a little before. But the absence of their names, both at the close of this letter and of that to the Hebrews, the hint respecting Mark in Colossians, the probable time and

place when the book of Acts was written by Luke, and the home of Aristarchus, are all presumptive signs that they had left the apostle before now, when his full assurance of a speedy liberation rendered their stay no longer necessary.

No. IV.

Phil. iii. 4-6. "If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more: circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless."

This passage has been noticed by Paley, in his Introduction, as one where the coincidence is so direct and clear, as to be unfit for his line of argument. "It is made up of particulars so plainly delivered in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Galatians, that I cannot deny it would be easy for an impostor, who was fabricating a letter in the name of St. Paul, to collect these articles into one view. This, therefore, is a conformity which we do not adduce."

There is much truth in this remark. Yet, even after this admission, the passage may fairly claim a subordinate place in the general argument.

And first, let it be observed on what a limited hypothesis the explanation of such a forgery becomes possible. The particulars may be collected from three other writings, the book of Acts, and the two letters to the Romans and Galatians. Assuming their genuineness, this passage will not prove that the letter to the Philippians might not be framed out of them. But who would ever seriously maintain a hypothesis so peculiar? Who would concede the genuineness of the two other letters, and deny that of the letter to the Philippians?

On the other hand, when the simpler question is proposed, whether the letters could be forged out of the history, or the history compiled out of the letters, the passage becomes evidence once more. For the history never states that St. Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin; which is mentioned here, and also in the Epistle to the Romans, and in both in the most incidental manner, along with particulars which the history does record. Yet it is, perhaps, an indirect coincidence, in

the habitual association of thought, that while Stephen passes at once to the reign of David, St. Paul dwells distinctly on his royal namesake, of his own tribe, in his summary of the sacred history. "And afterward they desired a king, and God gave unto them Saul, the son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years," Acts xiii. 21. This is either a coincidence, or very much resembles it, and is clearly undesigned, since the historian never tells us to what tribe the apostle belonged.

Again, the fact that St. Paul was a Pharisee is very prominent in the history, which states also that he was the son of of a Pharisee. Yet this brief clause "as touching the law, a Pharisee," is the only one in all the letters where that sect is so much as named. Nor is he here called the son of a Pharisee, but simply a Hebrew of Hebrews, where the language, and not the sect, of his father seems to be specified. Yet if he were the son of a Pharisee, how natural the occasion when it is mentioned, in his defence before the Jewish council. "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: touching the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question," Acts xxiii. 6.

There is a further peculiarity in this passage, compared with 2 Cor. xi. 21, 22, and Rom. xi. 1, which marks their common reality. In all of them there is an apparent tautology. If the apostle were a Benjamite, he would, of course, be an Israelite; and if an Israelite, then a Hebrew in the wider sense, or if a Hebrew-speaking Jew, then an Israelite. So in Romans, if a Benjamite, of course he was an Israelite, and if an Israelite, of course of the seed of Abraham. In Corinthians we have the same triple enumeration. A double explanation is possible; that these phrases, being in frequent use at the time, had each a distinctive and conventional shade of meaning, now lost; or else that their pride of descent led the Jews to multiply and vary the terms by which it was described. Either explanation implies the historical reality of the statement.

No. V.

Phil. iii. 2, 3. "Beware of the concision. For we are the circumcision, who worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh."

There is a remarkable gradation in the language of the

apostle respecting this Jewish ordinance, when we compare the epistles in the order of time.

In the first recorded discourse of the apostle, at Antioch, though circumcision is not named, it is included in the negative description, as a part of the law which could not justify. "By him, all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses," Acts xiii. 39.

In the epistle to the Galatians, the first where it is named, and written six or seven years later, its spiritual inefficiency is argued, defensively, against those who would impose it on the Gentile converts. It is left as the proper and distinctive title of the Jews. "That we should go to the heathen, and they to the circumcision." "Fearing them of the circumcision." "In Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith, which worketh by love." "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." The same point of indifference is continued in the next epistle to the Corinthians. "Is any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised? Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God," 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.

In the later Epistle to the Romans, we advance a step further, and the substance of the ordinance is claimed for every true believer, while only the shadow is assigned to the unbelieving Jews. "For he is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is of the heart, in spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God," Rom. ii. 28, 29.

Still later, in the epistle to the Colossians, this idea of the true circumcision as the exclusive privilege of the Christian believer, is expounded more fully. "In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ." While the indifference of the outward rite is asserted once more: "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision: but Christ is all and in all." Col. ii. 11; iii. 11.

Last of all, in the present passage, not only the true cir-

cumcision is claimed for the Christian believer, but the very name is denied, and an expressive term of reproach substituted, for those who, resting in their outward circumcision, rejected or perverted the gospel. "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the *concision*. For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh."

There is an evident gradation and progress in these statements. The outward rite, once obligatory on all the people of the covenant, then reduced simply to a national distinction by the call of the Gentiles, on the footing of liberty from the law of ceremonies, was more and more associated, in the apostle's experience, with the open hostility of the unbelieving Jews, and the perverse teaching of false brethren.

Now this coincidence is the most multiform and indirect which can be well imagined. It only comes to light as the result of those many hints, some of them plain, others complex and obscure, by which we determine the relative place of the whole series of letters. It is like a delicate golden thread of truth, running through and connecting the whole.

No. VI.

Phil. iv. 2, 3. "I beseech Euodia, and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord. And I intreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel, along with Clement also, and with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life."

There is some obscurity in this passage in the common version, which is removed by a more exact rendering. There is no real doubt, from the text, that the same persons are meant in both verses, and hence that Euodia (not *Euodias*) and Syntyche, are the names of women. It is not so likely, however, that the "true yokefellow" was charged to promote their reconciliation, as to cooperate with them, when reconciled; nor is it clear that the difference amounted to a quarrel, but only to some decided opposition of judgment, in their mode of helping forward the gospel.

The history gives us the following account of the first rise of the Philippian church:—

"And on the sabbath day we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat

down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither. And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us : whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul."

Of all the places named in the history, Philippi is the only one where women are said to have been the first hearers of the gospel, and one of them the earliest convert. Of all the letters, this to Philippi is the only one where a special instruction is given to women, who had laboured with St. Paul in the gospel. It is plain that, in these early churches, priority of conversion formed one main rule in the selection of their first teachers and spiritual officers. Euodia and Syntyche might very likely be two of the women, who resorted to the *proseucha* by the river side, and among the very first converts. The history, when closely examined, will be found to allude, not to one single sabbath day, but to a course of repeated instruction (*ἡκουεν*) and to the continued attention of Lydia and others. None would be so likely, as the women then converted, to take an active part in teaching the younger female disciples, who were called at a later period.

Who is meant by the "true yokefellow," we have not sufficient evidence to decide. Yet since it has been shown to be very probable that Luke and Aristarchus had now left the apostle, it is quite possible that one of them was gone to Philippi; and the phrase would be peculiarly appropriate to either of them, as the companions of St. Paul in his voyage and double imprisonment.

No. VII.

Phil. iv. 17. "Not because I desire a gift: but I desire fruit that may abound to your account."

At the close of the Epistle to the Romans we meet with a similar expression. "When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain."

The resemblance here is not simply in the metaphor of *fruit*, applied to acts of Christian liberality, but in its association with another metaphor, and the harshness of the transition, "*fruit* which may abound to your *account*,—when I have *sealed* to them this *fruit*." The sealing has evidently a secret reference to the idea of an account or receipt, which has been pro-

perly ratified and confirmed. This indirect, but real analogy in a peculiar transition of thought, is a proof, to use the words of Paley, "that the same mind dictated both passages."

No. VIII.

Phil. iv. 22. "All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's household."

Why should the saints of Cæsar's household claim a special place in this brotherly greeting? One probable reason may be assigned, and two others that are certain. First, Philippi, as we read in Acts, was a Roman colony, and hence there might be official or family bonds of intimacy between these Roman colonists, and the native Roman converts in the imperial palace. Secondly, there was a numerous church at Rome before St. Paul arrived. But the saints in Cæsar's household, like the Philippian church, were converts of the apostle himself, and hence there would be a special link of spiritual brotherhood. Finally, the apostle had been imprisoned at Philippi, as he was now a prisoner at Rome, and in each case his sufferings had been one chief cause of the conversions that followed. On this account, also, the saints of Cæsar's household, the spiritual sons of the apostle, in his bonds, like Onesimus, would feel a peculiar ground of sympathy with the Philippian Christians.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

THIS letter, unlike the others, does not bear the name of St. Paul, though it is ascribed to him by the almost universal tradition of the early church. Some, however, ascribe the authorship, in whole or in part, to Barnabas, to Luke, to Clement, and to Apollos. Many critics within the last century have also rejected the claim of the apostle, from supposed inconsistencies of style; but their objections have been fully sifted by Mr. Foster and professor Stuart, in two independent works, and received a decisive and complete refutation. Even on the ground of style only, there is no other claim which at all rivals that of St. Paul himself. The historical allusions, while they further establish the same truth, offer also several examples of undesigned coincidence. Mr. Biley has traced these with considerable force and accuracy, though one or two

important modifications seem required, and will be found to increase the consistency and clearness of the whole argument.

No. I.

Let us consider, in the first place, the evidence in the epistle itself, that St. Paul was the author. First, the writer supposes himself to be well known to the Hebrew or Palestine Christians, ch. x. 34, xiii. 18. Secondly, he had been imprisoned in Palestine, where many of them had ministered to him, x. 34. It is true that here the reading is disputed, but still the external evidence seems really to favour strongly the received text, and the internal still more. Thirdly, Timothy was well known to be his intimate companion, and the writer expected that he would accompany him to Jerusalem. Fourthly, he uses generally the language of apostolic authority, though in a modified form, as writing evidently to Christians of the mother church, xiii. 1-6. Fifthly, he reproves the great body of that church for their slowness and dulness of spiritual understanding, v. 11-14. Sixthly, he charges them, as with authority, to be in obedience to their own pastors and rulers, xiii. 7-17. Finally, he was in Italy when he wrote the letter, and was authorized to convey the greeting of all the Italian Christians, xiii. 24. There is no one with whom all these marks can possibly agree, but the great apostle of the Gentiles; and no time, except about the close of his long imprisonment at Rome.

The absence of his name, in the opening of the letter, is often made an objection to this view. Yet in reality it is a strong, indirect confirmation of its truth. It is impossible that any one else, who wished the letter to pass for one of the apostle's, should omit his name; but St. Paul himself, under the actual circumstances, had sufficient and weighty motives for this omission. We learn, from the book of Acts, how bitterly he was hated by the Jews on his last visit to Jerusalem. The whole city was filled with uproar, and the multitudes shouted after him—"Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live." The chief captain had great difficulty in rescuing him from their violence, which seemed ready to break out in an open rebellion. Forty Jews deliberately bound themselves, by a dreadful oath, to effect his murder, and this too with the assent of the chief priests; and to escape from their malice, he was sent away

in the night, with an escort of nearly five hundred men. Even among the great body of the Christian Jews there was considerable prejudice against him. "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs," Acts xxi. 20, 21.

These violent prejudices of the unbelieving Jews would have abated very little during the two years of his absence. And hence the insertion of his name, in the opening of the letter, might have been a complete bar to every hope that the truths it unfolds so powerfully, would reach their ears. On the other hand, the topics of the letter, and the manner in which they are treated, were eminently suited to arrest the attention of multitudes who were not converts to the faith. It was clearly designed to be read publicly in the Christian assemblies of Palestine, where many inquirers might be present. If not repelled by the name of St. Paul at the opening, they would be powerfully impressed by a style of argument so thoroughly adapted to the Jewish mind. And thus there was a most weighty motive of Christian expediency, why the apostle should forbear to prefix his name. That the writer intended to be clearly recognised by the believers to whom he wrote, is plain, from the close of the letter; but such an indirect discovery of himself, in a way so unobtrusive and silent, could have none of the mischievous effect, which would naturally follow, upon the insertion of a name so obnoxious in the opening verse. Its absence is therefore, in reality, a beautiful instance of congruity between the situation of the apostle, and his actual conduct, and an additional pledge of its authenticity, as his writing.

No. II.

Heb. xiii. 23, 24. "Know that our brother Timothy is set at liberty (*or sent away, ἀπολελύμενον*); with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you."

The exact meaning of this verse is rather ambiguous, and needs to be determined, before we can safely reason upon it. Professor Hug, Mr. Greswell in his Dissertations, and Mr. Biley, in his Supplement to the Horæ, all assume the correct-

ness of the received version. "The epistle," observes the last writer, "speaks of an imprisonment of Timothy, of which we have no mention anywhere else." Yet it is clear that the rest of the verse points to the other version, *dismissed*, or *sent away*, which is rather more usual in the New Testament. The true meaning of the word, in every case, is a dismissal after some previous detention, but sometimes one idea is prominent, sometimes the other. Sometimes the dismissal may be only from the court of justice, or the precincts of a prison, and sometimes the detention may be only that of duty, or urgent business. Now the dismissal of Timothy would explain his absence, and the uncertainty about his return; but a mere release from prison, even if there were other evidence of the fact, which there is not, would explain neither the one nor the other. Hence a great number of the best critics, with good reason, prefer the other rendering, *dismissed*, or *sent away*. The word is the same which is used for the dismissal of Saul and Barnabas on their first mission, and for that of Judas and Silas, after their message to Antioch was fulfilled.

Mr. Greswell, indeed, charges this view with an absurdity. "If the writer was in Italy, waiting to be joined by Timothy, and knowing that Timothy was already on his road to him, he could not speak in so much uncertainty about his joining in a certain time or not. Not so, if he merely knew that he was at liberty to set out, that he was his own master, and might travel in any direction, or within whatever time he pleased." But this is a double oversight. If Timothy was sent away on a mission from Italy, it does not follow that the apostle knew him to be on his road back again, and his uncertainty about the time, though the return itself was certain, is just what we should expect to occur. Unforeseen delays might well occur in the double journey, and in the business itself, whether he were sent to Greece or Asia. On the other hand, it is totally to misconceive the relation of Timothy to the apostle, if we suppose that his movements were independent, and not in strict reference to instructions he had received. And besides, the suppositions that Timothy had been imprisoned at Rome, after the date of the letter to the Philippians, that St. Paul had left him in prison, and gone elsewhere, that the Christians of Palestine had heard of this imprisonment, and that St. Paul, being in Italy, should be doubtful whether Timothy would soon rejoin him, after being released at

Rome, are one and all of them highly improbable. The other explanation is simple and complete. If Timothy had been sent by St. Paul on a mission to Greece, the time of his return would be uncertain. If it were long delayed, the apostle might think it necessary to visit Jerusalem before it took place. He was so accustomed to give the greeting of Timothy, and he had parted from him so recently, that he thinks it well to explain the seeming omission.

The verse, thus explained, tallies remarkably with the promise in the Epistle to the Philippians. At that time Paul was still a prisoner, but confident of a speedy release. Till his case was decided, he purposed to detain Timothy, but to send him away to Philippi, "so soon as he should see how it would go with him." In the letter to the Hebrews, the writer "sees how it will go with him," and plans the course and time of his visit to Palestine—"With whom, if he come rather soon, I will see you." But he is still in Italy, for he sends the greeting of the Italian Christians. Timothy, also, as it now appears, has been sent away to some distance, and not to Palestine, for the Christians there are to learn of his absence by this letter. This absence, however, followed some detention, the cause of which is supposed to be already known. And this would naturally be true, if any message had reached Palestine from Rome, about the time of the letter to Philippi, or even earlier.

Timothy is first detained to be near the apostle, while a prisoner; then sent away to Philippi, as soon as Paul's liberty is secured; then is absent, having been thus dismissed, and expected to return, while the apostle is ready to start for Jerusalem; then is found journeying with him, as he passes near Ephesus, and finally stays behind, while the apostle visits Philippi according to his promise, the place which Timothy would have visited not long before. No dovetailing of separate hints could be more complete.

No. III.

Heb. xiii. 22. "And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation: for I have written a letter unto you in few words."

When St. Paul writes to the Gentile churches he had founded, as those of Corinth and Galatia, he speaks with a tone of authority, and insists at length on his apostolic cha-

racter. When he writes to the Romans, where the church, though perhaps a majority were Gentiles, was founded by others, he uses greater delicacy. Though he states his own authority, as the apostle of the Gentiles, he mingles a gentle apology for the freedom of his exhortations. "I am persuaded of you, my brethren, that ye also are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to admonish one another. Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you (partly, as putting you in mind), because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost."

In the above passage, the same principle is carried a step further. St. Paul and the other apostles, as it would seem, had agreed that the Gentiles should be his peculiar province, and the Hebrews, or Jewish Christians, their own, Gal. ii. 9. Since, therefore, he is here writing to Jews and not to Gentiles, and to a church founded before his own conversion, he forbears to insist directly on his apostolic authority, and uses rather the language of courteous entreaty. "I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation, for I have written a letter to you in few words."

No. IV.

Heb. v. 11, 12. "Of whom we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing. For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God."

It may seem strange at first, that St. Paul himself should use such language as this, in addressing the churches of Judæa, which were the earliest in receiving the gospel, and had since enjoyed the presence and labours of all the apostles for many years. The history, however, explains the reproof, and proves that they were in a state, which St. Paul would certainly regard as one of immaturity in the faith. In his last visit, St. James and the elders had counselled him as follows:—

"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law: and they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that

they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee: we have four men which have a vow on them: them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from (things) strangled, and from fornication. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them."

With this description of the actual state of the Jewish Christians, that they were all zealous for the ceremonial law, and disposed on this account to regard the apostle with suspicion, after all his abundant labours, and extraordinary success in spreading the gospel, let us compare those statements, which the apostle includes in the doctrine of perfection, and for which he endeavours to prepare them by this affectionate rebuke.

Heb. vii. 11, 12, 18, 19. "If therefore perfection were by the Levitical priesthood (for under it the people received the law), what further need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchizedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law. . . . For there is verily a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof. For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope *did*, by the which we draw nigh unto God."

When we consider this contrast between the place held by the ceremonial law, in the minds of these Jewish Christians, and in the argument of the apostle, can we be surprised that he should preface his statement by that earnest reproof of their spiritual dulness—"When for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat?"

This coincidence, between the state of the Jewish believers,

the larger views of the apostle, and the rebuke he here administers, is one which could be produced by reality alone.

No. V.

Heb. x. 34. "For ye had compassion of me in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance."

Let us compare the passage in the history, relating to St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea. "And Felix commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or to come to him. . . . He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him. But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound.

These passages have every sign of being independent. The letter mentions neither the time nor the place, nor one circumstance of the imprisonment, nor even the name of the writer. The history, on the other hand, makes no direct mention of any compassion shown to St. Paul by the Palestine Christians, nor any confiscations to which they were exposed.

Yet there is a real harmony between these two accounts. For the history *implies* that the acquaintance of Paul did visit him, as they were allowed to do, and show him great sympathy, which, perhaps, encouraged Felix to hope for a large ransom. Again, the known rapacity of the governor, implied also in the narrative, and the bitter hatred of the Jewish rulers, make it highly probable that those who were most forward in their love to the apostle, would be exposed to heavy loss, and possibly to fines. The words of the writer imply, further, that his own imprisonment had been one of the most signal occasions on which the Jewish believers had been called to suffer for the gospel. And no one can read the narrative carefully, without feeling that such a result would be almost inevitable, from the cool, sordid covetousness of Felix, the deliberate malice of the rulers, and the maddened passions of the multitude at Jerusalem.

No. VI.

Heb. xiii. 7. "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God."

Ver. 17. "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account."

Ver. 24. "Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints."

This threefold mention of the rulers is quite peculiar, and occurs in no other epistle. In other cases, St. Paul does not name any rulers, distinct from the body of the church, or else he includes them in the same exhortation. But here the whole address is limited to the general body of the church, in contrast with these rulers, to whom they are charged to yield a reverent submission. Now this feature is just what might be expected, when the apostle of the Gentiles was writing to the Palestine Christians, among whom James, and the other eleven apostles, had exercised a more immediate authority. It was most important that he should not seem to place himself in opposition to their actual guides, but rather strengthen their hands, and enforce their exhortations. No authority is claimed, directly or indirectly, over these rulers themselves.

No. VII.

Heb. xiii. 18. "Pray for us: for we trust that we have a good conscience, in all things willing to live honestly."

This language certainly seems strange in the lips of an apostle. Why should he not only conceal his name, but use a plea of such extreme modesty in desiring their prayers?

There are two passages in the history, which seem to throw light on the expression. The first is in the defence before Ananias, "Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" xxiii. 1-3.

The second is in his defence before Felix, soon after, "And herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward men," xxiv. 16.

The third is in the speech of James and the elders, respecting the impressions of the Jewish Christians. "And they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought

not to circumcise their children, nor to walk after the customs," xxi. 21.

It has been thought that St. Paul betrayed a sinful impatience in his reply to Ananias, and that the recollection of his fault accounts for this language of diffidence and humility, in writing to those who might have witnessed that scene. But this view is disproved by Acts xxiv. 20, 21, where he clearly disclaims the consciousness of a fault in his behaviour before the council. Indeed his words were a direct prophecy, fulfilled soon after, and probably dictated, according to Christ's promise, by immediate inspiration. Also the proper meaning of the passage before us is to express confidence, and not doubt. "We are persuaded, (*πεποιθασμεν*) that we have a good conscience."

Yet though this explanation is certainly erroneous, there is here a tacit and beautiful reference to the circumstances of his trial and long imprisonment. He had been charged with being a pestilent fellow, who had gone about to profane the temple. When he professed his own uprightness before the council, he had been brutally interrupted and insulted by the high priest himself, in the presence of a great multitude. When he renewed the statement before Felix, it was practically answered by a two years' imprisonment. When a third time he offered the like plea before Festus, it availed as little as before, and he was constrained to appeal unto Caesar. Even the Jewish believers themselves had been ready to entertain calumnious reports against him, and his desire to remove their groundless and injurious suspicions, had been the very occasion of all his protracted troubles. Now, after shipwreck, and two years more of imprisonment, his cause had been heard, and his innocence practically declared by his restoration to liberty. How suitable and emphatic, at such a time, the declaration in which he entreats their prayers, when about to revisit Judæa, and how delicate the rebuke of those injurious suspicions against him, on their part, which had led to these heavy trials! "Pray for us: for (in spite of your former jealousy, and the malicious charges of my enemies) we are persuaded that we have a good conscience, in all things desiring to live honestly." What coincidence can be less obtrusive, or more deeply inwrought into the moral texture of the apostle's whole history?"

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

THERE has been a great division of opinion on the date of this epistle, and the journey into Macedonia, which is named in the opening verses. Most early commentators refer it to the second visit of St. Paul to that province, after the tumult at Ephesus. Paley, however, has adopted the view of bishop Pearson, that it was a journey later than the first imprisonment at Rome; and most writers since, who have attended specially to the subject, including Greswell, Biley, and Canon Tate, concur in his opinion. Yet since the earlier date has still several advocates, as Dr. Burton, and Canon Townsend, and the author of the *Literary History of the New Testament*, the question seems to require a further examination. The two following articles will, therefore, be devoted to it. In the first, the hypothesis of the early date will be sifted more fully; while the second will examine the objections which may be urged against the view of Paley and bishop Pearson, and present their hypothesis in a modified and more unobjectionable form.

No. I.

1 Tim. i. 3. "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine."

The main difficulty of the earlier date, advocated by so many critics, is that it requires Timothy to be left behind at Ephesus, there to await Paul's return, at the very time when the book of Acts affirms him to have been sent into Macedonia, or when the second letter to the Corinthians, by its superscription, proves that he was with the apostle on his circuit through that province. In professor Hug's introduction, we have, perhaps, the most ingenious and laborious attempt to remove this great objection. The present article will, therefore, be devoted to an examination of this theory.

The date which he assigns to the letter, is between the first and the second of those to Corinth, almost as soon as the apostle had reached Macedonia on his second visit. Timothy, he assumes, accompanied Stephanas and the others on their return to Corinth, as the deputy of the apostle; and setting out the first week in March, and going round by Macedonia, they might

reach Corinth the first week in April, or before the passover. If he returned by sea, he might reach Ephesus thirty-four days, if by land, nineteen days, before Pentecost, and the departure of Paul was only very slightly hastened by the tumult. Titus was sent to Corinth rather later than Timothy, to observe the effects of the letter, and report them to the apostle, and then rejoin him at Troas. When the apostle was obliged to leave Ephesus, he left Timothy behind, and gave him the commissions named in the letter. It was written, almost as soon as he reached Macedonia, or the instructions might have come after the work was completed. But the danger compelled Timothy to leave, as soon as his commission was fulfilled. The apostle spent at least four months in the circuit of Macedonia. And hence Timothy might remain two months at Ephesus, and still have two months to overtake the apostle, so as to be with him at the date of the second letter to Corinth.

This explanation, though it looks well on a distant and general view, breaks down at every point, when we submit it to a close and exact inquiry.

1. First, the book of Acts tells us that Timothy and Erastus were sent before the apostle into *Macedonia*. This does not exclude a further commission to Corinth, but it proves that they did not merely pass through Macedonia as travellers, but were sent expressly to visit the churches, and prepare them for St. Paul's own arrival. We must suppose that they visited Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea, and probably Troas, and stayed at least a week in each place. This delay of a month must be added to the time of Timothy's absence, as arranged in the above scheme. Allowing with the professor, thirty-one days for the journey, we have thus a total of fifty-nine days before reaching Corinth. We must suppose a delay of one week in that city, and with sixteen days allowed by the professor for the return, we have a total of eighty-two days. He is supposed to have started a month before the passover; and therefore he would only reach Ephesus a few days after Pentecost, when the apostle had already left, being hastened by the tumult.

2. The history mentions only Erastus as the companion of Timothy. But, on the above view, he was accompanied by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus. When the number, *two*, is specified, there is something very like a contradiction.

3. If Timothy was the bearer of the letter, St. Paul could

have no uncertainty about his coming to Corinth. Yet he expresses this uncertainty in the letter itself. "Now if Timotheus come, see that he be with you without fear."

4. Fourthly, as we have seen how unlikely it is that Timothy could rejoin Paul at Ephesus, allowing a moderate time for his commission in Macedonia, so the letters prove that St. Paul did not expect him till after his departure. He says, in the first letter, "If Timotheus come, conduct him forth in peace, for I look for him with the brethren." These brethren, it is plain, are Titus and others, who were sent direct to Corinth from Ephesus. Hence St. Paul expected Timothy, *at the earliest*, to return with them. But it appears from the second letter, that he expected them, not at Ephesus, but at Troas (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13). This fully confirms our previous reckoning by the apostle's own statement.

5. Fifthly, if Timothy had been the bearer of the letter to Corinth, and had since rejoined the apostle at Ephesus, how is it possible that not one allusion to the fact should occur throughout the second letter? It is full of St. Paul's joy at their reception of Titus, and at the report which Titus brought to him, but not one word about their reception of Timothy and tidings received by him also. This alone is a fatal objection to the whole scheme.

6. Sixthly, if St. Paul had heard from Corinth by Timothy, a few days before leaving Ephesus, and since they received the letter, why this intense anxiety to meet with Titus at Troas? On this view, his eagerness is quite inexplicable. It is clear from that chapter that Titus was to bring him the *first* tidings from Corinth.

7. Seventhly, if St. Paul was obliged to leave Ephesus, because of the imminent danger, was it likely that he would leave the youthful Timothy, at such a moment, to face the peril which compelled him to withdraw? How unlike would this be to the boldness of the apostle, and his tender care for his son in the faith!

8. Again, if Timothy were deliberately left at Ephesus, when the danger was at its height, it is most unlikely that he would desert his charge, when the peril must have diminished. The charge of St. Paul in the letter is distinctly given, "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," 1 Tim. iv. 13. How unnatural that St. Paul should never once allude, in the letter, to the contingency of Timothy being

compelled to leave; and that, without one such allusion, or even a tacit permission, his deputy should forsake his post, and return to the apostle, within a month after receiving these instructions!

9. The instructions themselves exclude the idea of a very brief stay. They contain directions as to the choice of bishops and deacons; continued attendance to reading, exhortation, and doctrine; a constant meditation of the work, so that his progress and advancement in zeal might become conspicuous to others; admonitions to elders and younger men, in cases of offence; the selection of widows to be sustained by the alms of the church; the marriage of younger widows; degrees of honour to the elders, according to their various diligence; rules for the treatment of any charges that might be brought against them, and the ordination of fresh persons to the office. That all this should be the work of one, or even of two months only, is clearly impossible.

10. Tenthly, in the letter St. Paul contemplates a return to Timothy before very long. "These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly." But when he reached Macedonia on his second visit he already had formed a distinct purpose to spend the summer in that province, and to winter at Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 6), before returning to Asia. In other words, he reckoned on a delay of nine months. This is clearly incompatible with the words just quoted from the Epistle to Timothy.

11. On the same hypothesis, this letter was written to Timothy after an absence of only two or three weeks, when they had met just before at Ephesus. How unreasonable to suppose that the apostle would give him his instructions by letter after so short an interval, when he might have conveyed them still more fully by a verbal communication just before!

12. Finally, this hypothesis, as it would require us to fix the letter to Timothy immediately after he had parted from the apostle, compels us also to place the second letter to Corinth, near the close of St. Paul's circuit in Macedonia, and only about a month before he arrived in Achaia. Now this contradicts several marks of time in that letter. He alludes in it to his trouble in Asia as a recent event, of which no distinct report might possibly have reached them. His meeting with Titus, whom he expected at Troas, must have been soon

after he crossed into Macedonia. But his renewed commission seems not to have been long delayed, both from the forwardness of Titus himself, and the desire of the apostle to express his joy on their repentance and obedience. And, besides, the work of preparing their contribution beforehand must naturally have required several weeks. Allowing a fortnight for their journey, we cannot well suppose a less interval than two months between their departure and the arrival of the apostle at Corinth, and a still earlier date is more probable. It would therefore be hardly possible for Timothy to have rejoined him, after any reasonable allowance for his stay at Ephesus. And, besides, how entirely it destroys the force of the allusion to his own troubles of Asia, if he had left Timothy to endure them after he was gone, and they had compelled his young companion to neglect his instructions, and to rejoin the apostle shortly before the letter was written!

Every one of these reasons is weighty. When they are all combined, they constitute an insuperable mass of evidence, to disprove the proposed date of the present letter to Timothy. And there is no other modification of the view, by which the inconsistency can be remedied. The main features are decidedly opposite in the two cases. On his second journey to Greece, Paul sent Timothy from Ephesus into Macedonia to prepare for his own arrival, and overtook him in that province before Timothy had reached Corinth, after which they continued together, till they reached Miletus again. At the date of the letter, Paul left Timothy behind at Ephesus, while he himself went forward to Macedonia; wrote to him after some considerable interval, charging him to continue there till his own return; appointed him business that would occupy several months; expressed his hope of returning very soon to Asia, but left it uncertain, and gave no permission, and indulged no hope, as to meeting Timothy in Europe, or before his own return. Thus every feature is a total contrast. We have seen already how minutely the details correspond with each other, when we compare the history and the two letters to Corinth on that second visit. But the attempt to interpolate the letter to Timothy out of its place falsifies every point of real agreement, contradicts the scope of the letter itself, and turns a series of delicate harmonies into a string of inconsistencies and historical contradictions.

No. II.

The view of Paley has now to be examined, with the objections to which it is exposed, and the partial modification it may require. He supposes that St. Paul, after his liberation, "sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way; that from Asia, and from Ephesus, the capital of that country, he proceeded into Macedonia, and, crossing the peninsula in his progress, came to the neighbourhood of Nicopolis. We have thus a route which falls in with everything. It executes his intention of visiting Colosse and Philippi, as soon as he was set at liberty at Rome. It allows him to leave Titus at Crete, and Timothy at Ephesus, as he went into Macedonia, and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of Greece, thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for the affinity between them."

There are two chief reasons which have been urged against this date of the epistle, and the route which is here supposed. The former is soon removed, but the other constitutes a serious difficulty.

And, first, the epistle, according to professor Hug, suggests the idea that the teachers and superintendents of the church were not yet nominated. This, however, took place a few months afterwards, when St. Paul on his return appointed them to meet him at Miletus, that he might see them in their new vocation, and impress on them the obligations of their new office. Hence the epistle was previous to that return.

Now, in reality, this very subject furnishes a powerful argument against the earlier date; for the epistle clearly supposes that there were many elders already in the church, and only gives directions to Timothy as to fresh appointments. At the very opening, he is directed to charge some that they teach no strange doctrine, and these must plainly have been elders of the church. So also the directions, chap. v. 1, 17, 19, imply clearly that the church had many elders when the apostle wrote. The passage in Acts, also, contains no proof whatever that the elders had been recently appointed; and since the apostle intended leaving at Pentecost, and was only driven away a few days before, it is morally certain that he would not have left such an important business to his young companion, but have completed it before his own departure. On the other hand, after an absence of six years, new appointments would be needful, and the commission to Timothy

would be highly appropriate and consistent. The instruction, also, to prove the deacons before appointing them, could never apply to a hurried stay of Timothy for two months at the most, in a time of disquiet and extreme danger. Hence this objection is really a powerful argument for the date after the first imprisonment.

The other difficulty is far more serious. St. Paul had declared to the elders at Miletus, "And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." A later visit to Ephesus, such as Paley has supposed, appears directly to falsify this prediction.

Two or three explanations have been offered, to remove this difficulty. And, first, Dr. Paley conceives that St. Paul might give merely his own mistaken impression, from the repeated warnings of bonds and afflictions in every city. To confirm this view, he argues from Phil. i. 25, ii. 23, 24, that the apostle uses the same phrase in a case where he was still uncertain. But this is clearly a mistake. There is nothing in Phil. ii. 23, 24, when correctly translated, which implies any doubt of a favourable issue. The only uncertainty relates to the exact time when he could send Timothy. In reality, the predictions, Acts xx. 29, and Phil. i. 25, according to Paley's own view, were both of them accurately fulfilled. And since the phrase here is exactly the same, the solution appears to be quite untenable.

Mr. Biley, again, suggests that the word *οὐκετι*, does not denote here, *never again*, but simply, *no longer*, or that his intercourse would be suspended for a season. This, however, had been the case already for almost a whole year, so that such a meaning is evidently excluded by the facts of the history. And, besides, this would not explain their grief at the statement. "Sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they would see his face no more." This solution, then, is inadmissible, like the other.

Again, Mr. Greswell supposes that the word, *all*, receives the emphasis. St. Paul, on this view, does not mean to say that none of them would see him again, but simply, that they would not, all of them, see him any more. This, however, is too usual a result of temporary absence, when the parties are numerous, to account for their deep emotion. All these explanations, which lower and neutralize the natural meaning

of this affecting passage, leave the difficulty in its full strength. Why should the deep emotion of the elders be so carefully noted, if either Paul was in error himself, or they had mistaken his real meaning?

Does then the epistle, assuming the truth of its date after the apostle's liberation, affirm distinctly a later visit to Ephesus? This has been assumed far too lightly, both by the advocates and opponents of that date; and, if it were true, would leave a painful sense of contradiction to the discourse at Miletus, which no proffered explanation could entirely remove. But the letter compels us to no such admission. Its words are abundantly satisfied, if the apostle passed once again near to Ephesus, and desired Timothy, instead of accompanying him further, to leave him at the nearest point of the route, and stay at that city. Indeed, this view agrees better with the instructions of the apostle, since it is most natural to suppose that he had no opportunity of giving those commands in person, which he commissions Timothy to deliver in his name.

One reason, however, has been given by Paley for the opposite view. "If the apostle executed his purpose, and came to Colosse, it is very improbable that he would omit to visit Ephesus, which lay so near it, and where he had spent three years of his ministry." To which we may add, that if he refrained from a visit, merely to secure the truth of his former prediction at Miletus, that warning loses much of its force and beauty, though not so entirely as on the other view. But, in reality, the length of his previous stay might form one reason for declining an actual visit. He was now aged, and might possibly be warned, like Peter, that the time of his departure was at hand. He had many places to visit, and several, like Colosse, which he had never visited before. No place had enjoyed so large a share of his time and labour as Ephesus, and other churches might justly advance a more powerful claim on the little time which now remained to him. Besides, the opposition to which he was there exposed was peculiarly bitter; and though fear alone would not have deterred him, duty would require him to husband his remaining years for the church of God, and not to expose himself again to the malice of the Jews of Asia by a second visit, while other places were eagerly desiring his presence. His plan for wintering at Nicopolis implies that this circuit was chiefly devoted

to those outlying churches which had enjoyed little or nothing of his personal instructions before. Crete, Colosse, and Epirus, were all, it appears, visited now for the first time. Hence he might very naturally avoid a needless delay, by visiting Ephesus; where his absence, after that solemn parting, might preach to them more powerfully than even his presence would have done.

On the whole, this hypothesis, that St. Paul passed near to Ephesus on his route, without an actual visit, maintains equally the coincidence in the time of his route from Colosse to Philippi, while it removes a very serious difficulty, amounting almost to a direct and inexplicable contradiction. The return to Timothy, which he contemplated, might be of the same kind; so that they might meet again at Miletus or Troas, and continue the rest of their journey together, or, at least, that he might give him still fuller instructions in a personal interview.

No. III.

1 Tim. ii. 11-14. "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression. Notwithstanding, she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety."

With this passage we may compare 1 Cor. xiv. 34. "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law."

The same general precept is here given in both cases, and confirmed by an appeal to the Old Testament. The resemblance, so far, is direct and clear, and would be equally possible, whether the letters were fictitious or genuine. But there is a more secret relation between the two passages, which may prove that they really proceeded from the apostle. In the earlier letter, to the Corinthians, the particular text of the Pentateuch is not named, but the description applies only to Gen. iii. 16: "And thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." In the other letter, the writer enforces the same duty; but instead of quoting the law of God, referred to before, he reasons from the context of the same

passage : from the creation, Gen. ii. 18-24 ; the fall, iii. 1-6 ; and the promise connected with the sorrows of childbirth, iii. 15, 16. This is an indirect agreement, which would result from a real association of thought in the mind of the apostle, and can be easily explained in no other way. The express law of God is alluded to, but not specified, in the letter to the church ; but in a later epistle to the apostle's companion, who was familiar with the Scriptures, and had read that former letter, other reasons from the context are substituted in its stead.

No. IV.

1 Tim. v. 17, 18. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine. For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his reward."

1 Cor. ix. 8-10. "Say I these things as a man ? or saith not the law the same also ? For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen ? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes ? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written, that he that plougheth should plough in hope ; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope."

In both passages the same text of the law is applied to establish the same general duty ; while the use of it is characteristic and peculiar. This tends to prove that the writer is the same. But there are two features of contrast, which, from their congruity with the circumstances, form a proof that both passages are genuine, and from the apostle's own pen. In the letter to the Corinthians, the writer reasons out his application of the text, since otherwise his meaning might be doubtful and obscure. In the Epistle to Timothy, who must have seen the other letter, and was also quite familiar with St. Paul's train of thought, the text is simply quoted without one word of explanation. Again, it is applied in the first letter to the general duty of supporting the preachers of the gospel. In the second, it is applied to a further and more special duty, of proportioning the honour or reward to the actual labour. These minute diversities are fully explained by a comparison of the dates of the letters, and of the parties to whom they were addressed, but is far too delicate and unobtrusive to be explained in any other way.

No. V.

1 Tim. v. 19, 20. "Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before (with, ἐν) two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear."

2 Cor. xiii. 1-4. "This is the third time I am coming to you. In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. I told you before, and foretell you, as if I were present, the second time; and being absent now, I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all the others, that, if I come again, I will not spare."

The agreement between these two passages is apparent. In one of them, St. Paul states the rule which would guide his own conduct, when administering discipline at Corinth; and in the other, he prescribes a rule to Timothy for *his* exercise of a like discipline in the church of Ephesus. It is the harmony of a general precept with a particular example.

But perhaps this agreement may be thought too plain and simple for our object, since the rule is only borrowed from the Mosaic law. We may observe, then, a minute and observable variation, which bespeaks reality in each case. In his conduct, St. Paul merely states that no charge should be held to be proved, unless by the consent of two or three witnesses. Timothy, however, is directed to require the same amount of testimony, even before the charge is received for further investigation. Whence this important difference between the apostle's precept and his own example? The reason is plain, that the precept related solely to accusations against elders. A due regard for their office, and perhaps also a secret reference to the youth of Timothy, invested with a perilous authority over his superiors in age, required a double caution in entertaining charges of this peculiar kind. This variation, while it illustrates the practical wisdom of the apostle, proves also that the letters are genuine. The difference is more in the idea than in the words, and is easily overlooked without a close examination.

No. VI.

1 Tim. iii. 14, 15. "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God,—"

These words, as we have seen, are a full disproof of the

earlier date of the epistle. When St. Paul entered Macedonia on his second visit, he plainly did not intend to return to Asia until after the winter, an interval of nine months, and he fully purposed in the spirit that he would return at that time on his way to Jerusalem. It remains now to see what light they throw on his later journey, on which they were actually written.

From the opening of the letter it has been inferred, by Paley and most others, that St. Paul wrote it in Macedonia. But this conclusion seems to be ill-founded; for the words are still more appropriate, if he had now left Macedonia, and proceeded onward to Greece. It is not likely that he would write to Timothy as soon as he left him, but rather after some considerable interval. Indeed this passage implies that he had now almost completed his original plan, and was deliberating whether he ought to prolong it, by visiting some other field of labour before his return. It would doubtless have been his original design to visit Macedonia and Achaia, in succession, as he had done twice before; and his doubt might be, whether to return at once from the peninsula, or to extend his journey up its western side, through Epirus and Dalmatia. He would probably choose for writing to Timothy some point of the circuit where the communication with Ephesus was rapid and easy; and no place would be so suitable as Corinth, or Cenchrea, its eastern port. Towards the close of his stay in that place, his first plan would be nearly complete, but he would naturally desire to extend his labours by a visit to Epirus and Dalmatia. In this case, he would return to Asia by the Egnatian road, Neapolis, and Troas, and his meeting with Timothy be very considerably delayed. And this will fully explain his double statement. "These things I write, hoping to come unto thee shortly: but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God."

Are there now any internal signs, which tend to confirm the view that the letter was written in or near Corinth? There are several indications, although slight in themselves, which rather countenance this opinion. First, the three coincidences just observed are with the two letters to Corinth. We have seen that the explanation, by an intermediate date, is demonstrably untrue. But if the apostle were now in the very place where these directions had been enforced, as to the silence of the

women in the churches, the mode of receiving accusations, and the maxim of due provision for teachers, it is still more natural that traces of them should reappear in the present letter.

Again, there are two passages, which imply rather strongly that the apostle had before his eyes the preparation for some public games. "But exercise thyself rather unto godliness; for bodily exercise profiteth for little; but godliness is profitable unto all things." "Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life" (*ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα*). Both of these allusions are doubly emphatic, if the apostle was at Corinth not long before a celebration of the Isthmian or Olympic games. A further presumption for this view, as to the place from which the letter was sent, will arise in considering the Epistle to Titus, which comes next in order.

CHAPTER X.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

No. I.

Tit. i. 5. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."

Besides the view of Paley, who places the visit here spoken of on the return of St. Paul from Rome, and dates the letter from Greece on his subsequent circuit, there have been two other chief varieties, which both assign it a much earlier date. The first is that of professor Hug, who places the visit on the voyage, Acts xviii. from Corinth to Ephesus; and the second that of Michaelis, who supposes an excursion of St. Paul from Corinth to the island during his long stay. In this first article these two alternatives will be examined.

The first view supposes that St. Paul embarked at Cenchrea, and that the ship was either bound for Crete, or driven to the island by stress of weather, when one of the perils by sea (2 Cor. xi.) may have happened. He left Titus behind, and wrote the letter to him on arriving at Ephesus. Apollos had already reached that city, and St. Paul instructs Titus to forward him on his journey, probably by way of Crete to Corinth. The Nicopolis (Tit. iii. 12) is that in Cilicia, between Antioch and Tarsus, which would be the best known to Titus, a

Greek of the Asiatic provinces, and also lay quite in the route of the apostle.

This hypothesis seems encumbered, in every part, with fatal objections. First, the island lies quite in the way from Corinth to Syria, but out of the way from Corinth to Ephesus. We can account for St. Paul taking Ephesus in his way only by one of two reasons, that the vessel was bound thither, or that the winds compelled it to a more northward course. In the latter case, a circuit by Crete was plainly impossible. On the other view, either the vessel could keep her course or was driven from it. If she could, she would make the port of Ephesus, without sailing to Crete. But if driven southward to Crete, the wind would favour St. Paul's progress to Syria, and hinder his return to Ephesus, and consequently he would not have returned thither at all.

Next, if St. Paul sailed by Crete to Ephesus, there seems no reason why the historian should not have noticed the fact, as well as the visit to Ephesus itself. Either was an episode to the main object, the voyage to Jerusalem; and if one were mentioned, the other, which was a greater deviation from the natural route, would almost certainly have been noticed also.

Thirdly, the apostle was pressed for time on this voyage. From analogy with the other voyage it is probable that he left Corinth after the Passover, and that he aimed to reach Jerusalem by the Pentecost. He would then have time for the circuit by Ephesus, and for a short delay there, but certainly not for a further circuit by Crete, and a stay there of some continuance. Even if he set out at the beginning of March, we must allow near thirty days for the double voyage to Crete and Ephesus, one of them almost certainly with a head-wind. The epistle implies a stay of some length in the island, which would require six or seven weeks, in order to visit a few of its principal towns only. And hence it is most unlikely that time would be left for the apostle to go back to Ephesus before sailing into Syria.

Fourthly, it is quite plain from the book of Acts that Apollos did not reach Ephesus until Paul had left it, and that the apostle did not return to it after the circuit through the upper parts until Apollos was at Corinth. The order in the history is perfectly clear. St. Paul leaves Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus. After he is gone, and while he is in some part of the Asiatic circuit, Apollos arrives, and Aquila and

Priscilla instruct him in the absence of the apostle. They and other brethren give him letters, and he arrives at Corinth. After his arrival, Paul, having completed his circuit in the upper parts, comes down to Ephesus. And hence it becomes absolutely certain that the letter to Titus could not be written during that short stay at Ephesus.

The explanation of Nicopolis is equally unsatisfactory. What possible reason can be given why the apostle should winter there, rather than in Tarsus or Antioch, the two great centres of the church in that immediate vicinity? Either of them would be a far more likely place for Titus to rejoin him.

Finally, at the date proposed, the gospel had scarcely reached Ephesus, and it is very doubtful whether Tychicus, the Ephesian, could have been already a convert. His proposed mission to Crete, so early in the history, is another improbability. But the two objections, from the route of the apostle, and from the mention of Apollos, are alike fatal to the whole hypothesis.

The second opinion is that of Michaelis and others, that St. Paul took a voyage to Crete during his stay at Corinth, and was driven to Epirus by stress of weather on his return; that he spent the winter there, and preached the gospel among them, and then resumed his stay at Corinth again.

The objections to this view are equally decisive. First, it is plain that Apollos did not reach Corinth till St. Paul had left it, nor even till he had left Ephesus, and apparently, not until he was far advanced on his circuit in Asia Minor. Otherwise, his abode at Corinth would be a very imperfect definition of the time when St. Paul reached Ephesus. It is thus quite impossible that St. Paul should commend Apollos to Titus at this time, when it is clear that they had not hitherto met, and that Apollos, until some time later, was merely a disciple of John.

Again, the history tells us that St. Paul settled (ἐκάθισέ) at Corinth a year and six months. The phrase itself is adverse to the notion of such a voyage. But let us consider the definition of time more closely. Since he left it about March or April, he must have reached it about September. It is plain that he would not take a voyage to Crete, leaving his new post, before the winter began. We must therefore suppose that he spent the second winter at Nicopolis, and then sailed in the next spring to Corinth. But he left Corinth in March or April, and had tarried there a good while before this voyage

began. Also before that delay, his assiduous labours in the place led to the insurrection of the Jews against him. This does not agree at all with an absence at Crete and Epirus for six months previous. For he would hardly undertake the voyage after the autumnal equinox, and must therefore have been absent from August until the next February. On this account, as well as the former, the hypothesis is untenable.

Again, if Tychicus was to be sent to Crete from the apostle, he must have been with him before the voyage. But that Tychicus the Ephesian should be an active and trusty helper of St. Paul two years or more before the gospel was planted at Ephesus, is utterly improbable. These three reasons appear quite decisive against the second hypothesis, and we are thus compelled, by demonstrative evidence, to place the visit of the apostle after his return from Rome.

No. II.

Let us now examine whether all these difficulties are not removed by the later date of the epistle, and succeeded by as many points of observable harmony.

First, St. Paul, in his latest letter from Italy, had expressed his hope of soon visiting the believers of Palestine. Since he coasted Crete, while a prisoner, on his voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, he would naturally pay it a visit on returning from Italy to Cæsarea. We have no need to suppose adverse winds, or a voyage of which no hint occurs, but only that St. Paul fulfilled his deliberate purpose, when he would certainly pass by the island, and having never visited it before, would be sure to visit it now, that he might strengthen and establish the disciples.

Next, since the island was large, and St. Paul could stay only a short time, consistently with his promises to the Colossians and Philippians, as well as the Christians of Palestine, much would remain for Titus to do after his departure. Nor is it likely that the apostle would write to him very soon after their separation. At the date of the letter it is clearly expected that Titus would almost have fulfilled his commission. Now if St. Paul made a circuit by Cæsarea, Antioch, Colosse, and Philippi, some considerable interval must have elapsed before he came round into the neighbourhood of Crete, so as to write the present letter. Hence it is likely that Titus would nearly have fulfilled his task, as the apostle clearly expected, at the time when the letter was written.

Thirdly, on the same view, Apollos had already met the apostle at Ephesus six or seven years before the date of the letter, and Tychicus had already been employed for the same number of years as one of his helpers and fellow-labourers. Hence the mention of them both is consistent and natural, while it is a fatal objection to either of the two earlier dates from Corinth or Ephesus.

Fourthly, the Actian Nicopolis was both the most celebrated and flourishing at the time, and also the nearest to the island of Crete. Hence, in the abstract, it is by far the most likely to be intended by the apostle. But if he had reached the peninsula of Greece, and wrote from almost any part of it to Titus, that city would be a very natural place of meeting, before a further mission along its western side in the direction of Illyricum and Dalmatia.

Finally, by this means the epistles to Timothy and to Titus, which have so strong a resemblance, are shown to be written almost together, during the apostle's final circuit through the peninsula of Greece.

The general view, therefore, which places the epistle during this last journey, is established by the firmest reasons. But there is still some variation in the time and place assigned to this and the former epistle. Paley supposes the letter to Timothy to have been sent from Macedonia, and the present one to Titus from Nicopolis or its neighbourhood. Mr. Greswell reverses the order, and supposes that St. Paul wrote to Titus from Macedonia, and to Timothy, not long afterwards, from Nicopolis.

Each of these opinions, though certainly not very wide of the truth, is open to real objection. If the one letter does not imply that St. Paul was still in Macedonia, the direction to Titus implies still less that the apostle had reached Nicopolis. On the contrary, the appointment implies the joint interval between two separate messages, and of a direct and return voyage before Titus could arrive at Nicopolis. If St. Paul resolved to winter there, it is probable that he would arrange not to arrive at the place long before the winter season. His words to Timothy are most natural, if he had already left Macedonia, and the instructions to Titus clearly suppose that he would not reach Nicopolis until some weeks or months later.

What, then, would be the most likely place for a message

to Crete from the peninsula? Of all those where St. Paul is known to have been, unquestionably Corinth. After an absence of six years, he could hardly fail to pay that church a visit, as well as Colosse and Philippi, and would probably make a short circuit to other stations in the province of Achaia. He would then be at the most favourable point for sending a message, either to Crete or Ephesus, while his prolonged absence from Timothy and Titus would render a letter peculiarly seasonable. The resemblance of the epistles is thus accounted for, even more fully than by the two other schemes mentioned above.

Which letter, again, must we suppose to have been first written? This question, also, allows of a distinct answer. When St. Paul wrote to Timothy, he had some hope of returning to Asia shortly, but thought it possible that he might make a longer delay. When he wrote to Titus, he had come to a resolution (the word implying, perhaps, a previous suspense of judgment) to spend the winter at Nicopolis on the western coast. This decision not only would necessitate a continued absence from Asia, but presuppose a visit to Epirus and the adjoining districts in the spring, and an intention of returning across Macedonia by a longer route before coming to Asia again. We may suppose the letter to Timothy to have been written, therefore, soon after his arrival at Corinth, before he had resolved on this western circuit, but when its desirableness first began to appear; and the letter to Titus, near the close of that same residence, when he had planned one part of his journey until the winter, and designed to continue it, perhaps by coasting, with the first days of spring. The analogy of the two letters to the Ephesians and the Colossians is thus retained, the second in each case being shorter than the first, and a brief repetition of the same instructions to other parties.

No. III.

There is one difficulty which may be started against the conclusion just established, that the epistle was written from Corinth or its neighbourhood, on St. Paul's return to Greece after his long imprisonment. Since his stay at Crete must have been short, on that return voyage, to be consistent with his promises to others, how is it likely that elders should need so soon to be ordained in every city?

Now here the facts disclosed in the history, compared with

the position of Crete, will supply a full answer, and turn the difficulty into a mark of truth. Even on the day of Pentecost Cretan Jews were present, and some of them were probably numbered among those first converts. Cyprus received the gospel as early as the persecution of Stephen (Acts xi. 19), more than twenty-five years before the date of this letter. It was more fully visited by Paul and Barnabas on their first journey, and again by Barnabas and Mark after the separation. Corinth and Achaia had received the gospel on Paul's first visit to Europe, ten or eleven years previous, and he had stayed there no less than eighteen months. He had since continued between two and three years in Ephesus, so that all who were in Asia heard the word of God. When he was last at Corinth, five years before his visit to Crete, there was a numerous church at Rome, and had been for many years. Apollos was from Alexandria, and there is little doubt that Egypt must have received the gospel not later than Ephesus. Several of the first preachers of the gospel, at the time of Paul's conversion, were Jews of Cyrene (Acts xi. 20). Now Crete lay in the intersection of all the routes, from Judea to Rome, from Cyrene to Cyprus and Antioch, from Alexandria to Corinth, and from Corinth to Cyrene, to Alexandria, and to Cæsarea. The winds of the Levant are favourable to a voyage from the Peloponnesus to the island, and from Argos near Corinth, to Cydonia, would be only two days' voyage with a prosperous wind. Thus it is morally certain that the gospel would have been preached extensively in Crete for eight or ten years before St. Paul returned from Rome. It is not unlikely that Barnabas and Mark, after preaching in Cyprus, might proceed thither, and make it their next missionary station.

The brief statement in the letter is thus highly consistent with the probable course of events. 'Since this had been the first visit of the apostle to the island, he would naturally stay one or two months, to confirm the churches where probably no apostle had been before him. This time, however, would be far too short for the wants of so large an island, and other engagements were pressing, and would forbid a longer stay. Hence he might, with much propriety, desire Titus to stay behind, and to complete more at leisure those ecclesiastical arrangements he himself had begun. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou mightest set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders in every city."

The selection of Titus for this post, though it might be caused by many reasons now hidden from us, agrees well with the slight notices in the history and the previous letters. He is mentioned last as the messenger to Corinth, just before St. Paul's second visit. The history never speaks of him, but proves, by the list of Paul's companions when he sailed from Philippi, that Titus did not accompany him on his course to Jerusalem. He is not mentioned in any one of the four letters, written from Rome during the first imprisonment. From his forwardness in visiting Corinth at his last mission, and the fact that he had been sent thither twice before, and walked consistently in the same spirit and steps with the apostle, he was perhaps left to superintend the churches of Achaia, before St. Paul set out on that voyage. In this case, during the five years' interval he would most likely have gone to Crete, to extend the gospel in that island, which adjoined so closely to the churches of Achaia. And thus we have a very probable explanation why he might be selected by St. Paul for his present commission, to ordain elders throughout the Cretan cities.

No. IV.

Tit. iii. 12. "When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis : for I have determined there to winter. Bring Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them."

The Actian Nicopolis was the nearest to Crete, and the most noted city of that name. It has been shown above that it is certainly intended in this passage. The words do not imply that St. Paul was already there, but the reverse, that he was proceeding on a circuit, to end at Nicopolis about the winter. The letter, then, was written in the summer or autumn, and probably, as we have seen, from Corinth. A circuit through Ætolia, Acarnania, and part of Epirus, might well occupy the apostle until winter. A large and flourishing sea-port would be an excellent place for his labours during the winter season, and he could then pursue his circuit northward along the coast with the early spring.

Now this view agrees well with the notice, that Tychicus was with the apostle. He had been sent to Ephesus and Colosse from Rome, when St. Paul hoped to visit Philemon

before long. He would probably remain in that neighbourhood, and await his arrival. But St. Paul had now paid his visit to Colosse, and crossed over into Europe, and it is probable that he would retain Tychicus for some time, after their long separation. The doubt as to the messenger might arise from his having been made the bearer of the letter to Timothy a few weeks before, so that the time of his return would be rather uncertain.

The commission about Apollos has been variously explained. Some, as Hug, refer it to his first journey from Ephesus to Corinth, which is clearly disproved by the history. Canon Tate has supposed that Apollos and Zenas might be the bearers of the letter to the Hebrews. But this involves clearly a great anachronism, since not only the letter must have reached Palestine before now, but St. Paul would have paid them his visit, and pursued his journey by Colosse and Philippi into Greece. Mr. Biley supposes that they were now with Titus, and that St. Paul desired him to bring them along with him, or help them on their way to join himself. It is far more simple to explain it thus, that they were the bearers of this letter to Titus, and then were about to proceed elsewhere; so that St. Paul seized the occasion of sending a letter by them, though a further message would be necessary before Titus could return. Now the last previous mention of Apollos (1 Cor. xvi. 12) implied his fixed purpose of visiting Corinth again, and it has been shown that St. Paul was in or near Corinth at the date of this letter. Again, Apollos was a Jew of Alexandria, and whether he were journeying to Palestine, to one of the national feasts, or returning to his native place, on either supposition Crete would be exactly in the line of his journey. The coincidence here, though inferential, has a high probability, and is certainly free from the remotest suspicion of design. It supplies also a beautiful lesson, that the last mention of Apollos shows him to have fulfilled his promise to the Corinthians; that he was there in fellowship with the apostle, where their names had once been the signal of unholy rivalry; that he willingly undertakes to be the bearer of the apostle's message to Titus; while the apostle, in his turn, commends him most affectionately to the care of his youthful friend, in providing for his comfort on his proposed journey.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

THAT this letter was written during St. Paul's second imprisonment has been argued already, in the remarks on the epistle to the Ephesians, and is so generally allowed, that perhaps further proof is needless. It will be enough to trace at once, in succession, those secret harmonies of truth which are detected, when the epistle is thus referred to its proper date.

No. I.

2 Tim. i. 6. "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands."

In Acts viii. 18, 19, at the time when the gospel was preached by Philip in Samaria, we have a remarkable statement with regard to the conduct of Simon Magus.

"And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money."

We are thus taught by the history, before the date of Saul's conversion, that to communicate the gifts of the Spirit by imposition of their hands was a privilege peculiar to the apostles. Here, again, in the latest letter of the apostle, on the eve of his death, he reminds Timothy of the gifts of the Spirit he had received, and that it was by the imposition of his own hands he had received them. The coincidence is simple and complete. It is the more observable, because in the former letter he had mentioned Timothy's reception of these gifts, without any assertion of this important particular, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given by prophecy, with laying of the hands of the presbytery."

No. II.

2 Tim. i. 15. "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me, of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes."

This passage, at first sight, may well occasion some per-

plexity. How could the whole church of Ephesus, where St. Paul laboured with such zeal for nearly three years, have apostatized from the faith, or perseveringly renounced their friendship for the apostle? How is it that Timothy is informed thus briefly of the defection of the whole flock, where he had been appointed to labour, and to establish the disciples, not long before?

The first step towards a removal of the difficulty consists in a simpler and more exact version. "This thou knowest, that all they who are in Asia turned away from me." When St. Paul wrote to Timothy before, he was journeying, and at liberty, but now he is a prisoner at Rome. We are not told where he was apprehended, but the last town on his route to which we can trace him, is Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick. The words before us allude, when translated simply, to some particular occasion which had intervened, and was known to Timothy, though not stated fully in the letter. Hence we may infer that he was apprehended somewhere in the province of Asia, and examined by some provincial governor, before he was sent a prisoner to Rome. On this view we find an exact parallel to the present verse at the close of the letter. "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear." (2 Tim. iv. 16.)

If the Christians at Rome all forsook the apostle in this crisis, it is not surprising that the same should be true of those in Asia, whatever the town where he was seized, and brought for his defence before the Roman deputy. The time of Nero's cruelty was now begun, and hence the danger was far greater than in the former imprisonment. The fact, that two names only are specified, out of the whole number of believers, implies that some special occasion was meant, already known to Timothy, and that the charge has an important limitation. All those of Asia who were near at hand, and had it in their power to befriend him in his hour of danger, drew back through fear, and two are named, as more guilty than the rest, whether from their special opportunities of helping him, or from their station in the church. The comparison, then, removes the strangeness of the declaration, while it reveals a secret harmony between the two des-

criptions of the guilty timorousness of the Christians, both in Asia and at Rome.

Still, if Timothy were now at Ephesus, it seems unnatural that he should be informed in this manner of facts which would seem to involve him in a share of the guilt, and to have passed under his own eyes. Now if we examine the rest of the letter, this difficulty will also be removed. Timothy, it seems, was not at Ephesus, but at some distance to the east or north. For he is told of the mission of Tychicus to Ephesus, and of Trophimus having stayed at Miletus, and is charged to bring the cloak from Troas. Hence it seems pretty clear that he was not actually in any of those cities, though he might have to pass through them on his journey to Rome. This absence of Timothy from Ephesus, which is obscurely implied, completes the explanation of a verse which at first sight is almost inexplicable. Long before the letter arrived, Timothy would have learned the place and time of the apostle's apprehension, and the conduct of the Christians around him, when he was thus arraigned. Hence the notice of the fact is so brief, that it now appears almost hopelessly obscure.

No. III.

2 Tim. iv. 9, 10. "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me: for Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia; *Titus unto Dalmatia.*"

Two of these names are familiar to us in the letters, but Crescens is mentioned here only. This is the kind of coincidence which we should look for in a history of real occurrences. St. Paul had several constant, and others, more numerous, who were occasional companions in his journeys.

The mention of Titus supplies a very circuitous coincidence, of the reality of which, on close inquiry, there is little doubt. In his letter, the apostle requested him to rejoin him at Nicopolis. This has been shown to be Nicopolis in Epirus, and the letter to be from the neighbourhood of Corinth. Hence the purpose of the direction was clearly that Titus might be with the apostle in Epirus during the winter, and resume his labours along with him up the western coast of the Adriatic early in the next spring. If time was pressing, and other churches to the north required a visit, St. Paul would naturally send Titus, one of his most faithful and trusty helpers,

to fulfil the same office as in Crete the previous year. On crossing over to Troas, he seems to have been arrested in Asia, and sent off at once a prisoner to Rome. Since Timothy was absent elsewhere in Asia Minor, this letter might give him the first account of that absence of Titus which made his own return the more necessary. The intervals of time will quite agree with this view. Titus might leave the apostle in April for Dalmatia, possibly near Dyrrachium. St. Paul might reach Miletus towards the end of May, and, after his arrest, be conveyed to Rome by the beginning or middle of July, and examined in the same month. He might write to Timothy in August, who was then in Asia, and not at the sea coast; and since he had several commissions to fulfil on the way, he would require diligence to rejoin the apostle at Rome before the winter was set in.

To detect the secret coincidence in this case, how many steps are necessary! We have first to ascertain carefully the true date of both letters, and the neighbourhood where the one to Titus was written, all of them points that require the most careful examination, as is proved by the mistakes of so many learned men. We have next to infer, from the message to Titus, the probable route of the apostle after that winter was over, and from this letter to Timothy, the place of his apprehension, and the fact of his return to Rome. We have also, by minute observation, to discover the absence of Timothy from Ephesus and Miletus, and, by a complex estimate of the journeys, to ascertain that the two winters, in the two letters, are those of two successive years. Thus, by this complicated inquiry, where every link, however, seems to be firm, we obtain a result which not only clears Titus from the suspicion of wilfully deserting the apostle, but accounts for his absence in Dalmatia, a province never once named elsewhere either in the history or the other letters.

No. IV.

2 Tim. iv. 11. "Only Luke is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the ministry."

The last mention of Mark was in the Epistle to Colosse, from which it appeared that he was intending to visit that neighbourhood about the close of the former imprisonment, which was probably about two years before the present message.

Timothy, also, seems now to have been absent from Ephesus, in the interior of Asia Minor. And hence the instruction that he should bring Mark along with him is readily explained.

But why is the remark added, "for he is profitable to me for the ministry?" If we turn to the history, we find that Mark had "ministered" to Paul and Barnabas in their first journey; that he forsook them at a critical moment, and fell under Paul's displeasure; that on the next journey, he parted from Barnabas on this very account, because he thought Mark disqualified to be their companion, and that, after their separation, he selected Timothy to fill the very post which Mark had occupied before him. There is thus a double propriety in this brief commendation. The aged apostle, now on the point of death, would not only leave it on record how completely the breach had been healed by the faithfulness of the evangelist in later years, but would also guard his beloved son in the faith against a self-complacent comparison with an elder brother, by bequeathing to him this beautiful and simple testimony to the value of Mark's services in the gospel. What secret allusion could be more beautifully delicate and refined, and further beyond the reach of fraudulent imitation!

No. V.

2 Tim. iv. 13, 21. "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments.

"Do thy diligence to come before winter."

The deep and touching significance of this direction, however trivial it may seem, has been beautifully explained by Mons. Gaussen, in his *Theopneustia*.

"During near thirty years he had been poor, in labours more abundant than others, in stripes above measure beyond them, in prisons more frequent than they: of the Jews he had five times received forty stripes save one, thrice he had been beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice shipwrecked, in journeyings often, in perils at sea, in towns, in deserts, among the heathen, and among his own countrymen, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, with the care of all the churches. He was now Paul the aged, and in his last prison at Rome, expecting the sentence of death, and ready to be offered; he had fought a good fight, finished his course, and kept the faith. Even his friends had shrunk from him

on his first arraignment; only Luke was with him, the rest had left or forsaken him; the winter was about to set in, and in the chilly dungeons of Rome he was in want of his cloak, which he had left with Carpus at Troas, two hundred leagues away. The writer was himself in Rome last year, at the commencement of November; and with what vivid reality, under the influence of the evening cold, could he imagine the aged apostle in the dungeons of the Capitol, dictating the last of his letters, regretting the absence of his cloak, and begging Timothy to bring it before winter."

In another view, these passages bear the same impress of reality. The apostle had wintered at Nicopolis, journeyed northward early in the spring, dismissed Titus to Dalmatia, crossed Macedonia by the Egnatian Way to Neapolis, and embarked for Troas; proceeded to Miletus, and in that neighbourhood been seized, examined, and sent off to Rome, from whence he writes to Timothy, in time for him to return, but only with a speedy journey, before winter sets in again. From this outline, deduced by a careful comparison of many scattered hints, about what time would he have passed through Troas? Most probably, about the month of May. How natural for him to leave his cloak behind, when the summer months were now begun, and especially if he purposed to return by the same route, so as to winter in Thrace or Macedonia! Yet, as Mr. Biley has justly observed, "there is no allusion to the season in the first letter to Timothy; no allusion to the proposed return to Asia after the winter, in that to Titus; no allusion to the winter at Nicopolis, or to the second interview with Timothy, in the present letter. The harmony is as completely hidden below the surface as it could possibly be."

No. VI.

2 Tim. iv. 14. "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works: of whom be thou ware also; for he hath greatly withstood our words."

1 Tim. i. 19, 20. "Holding faith and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning the faith have made shipwreck: of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."

Acts xix. 33. "And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with his hand, and would have made his defence unto the people. But when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

These three passages have all some affinity with each other. In each of them an Alexander is mentioned, but in so general a way, that it is by no means clear, whether one, or two, or three parties are really intended. It is not even clear, from the statement in this letter, that Alexander the coppersmith lived at Ephesus. In the second passage, the phrase "whom I have delivered to Satan," requires a reference to another epistle, to fix its meaning, and no record is given in the history of the place or time of his excommunication. Some have conceived that the Alexander in the book of Acts was a Christian, and others, that the Alexander of the first epistle was simply a heretic, but Alexander the coppersmith, a heathen or Jewish adversary. Yet I think that an exact inquiry will go far to remove this obscurity, and reveal, at least with considerable probability, a concealed and indirect coincidence.

First, Hymenæus is named, in both letters to Timothy, as an example of heresy. The former letter was addressed to him for his guidance, when at Ephesus; and the second, in a great measure for the same purpose, though with instructions also for his journey to Rome, when Ephesus would be in his way. We may infer that Hymenæus belonged to Ephesus, or the Asian province. The description is similar in both places, and hence, the same party is designated in both letters.

Next, the Alexander of 1 Tim. i. 20, and the Philetus of 2 Tim. ii. 17, since they are coupled with Hymenæus, were probably also of that province, and perhaps of Ephesus, and ringleaders in heresy, or in some kind of opposition to the truth.

Thirdly, in each letter to Timothy, when at or near Ephesus, only one Alexander is named as an enemy to the gospel. The Alexander of the former letter, had been excommunicated, that he might be taught not to blaspheme, and continued impenitent, about a year before the date of the second letter. In that second letter itself, Alexander the coppersmith is described as the most malignant enemy of the apostle, who had greatly

withstood his words. It was only in rare and extreme cases that St. Paul singled out any one by name for such severe reprobation. It is surely improbable that at the same time, in the same district, there were two Alexanders thus pre-eminent in wickedness, and that one of them should be named in each epistle, without some clearer mark of distinction between them. But no such mark can be found in these passages. Alexander might be sufficiently defined in the first passage by his being joined with Hymenæus; but where he was named alone, some surname would be needful, to avoid all risk of mistaking the party, and hence the mention of his trade, in this case only, may be readily explained, without recourse to the supposition that it was some different person.

It has been supposed, however, that Alexander the copper-smith did not live at Ephesus, but in Macedonia, or at the station next to Troas, in the route of Timothy. There seems no solid reason for this view. The journey of Timothy was to be as speedy as possible; and during its course, he would not be likely to incur any risk from this adversary, merely because he had to pass rapidly through some town in Macedonia, where he might happen to live. The danger could only refer to Timothy's ordinary residence, in or near Ephesus, and the injury done to Paul must relate either to the time of his long stay in that city, or to his recent apprehension, which took place in Asia. The phrase "he hath greatly withstood our words," may refer either to the whole course of St. Paul's teaching, or to his recent defence in Asia before the Roman deputy, when this Alexander might have been forward among his accusers. Everything points to a residence in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, where Timothy had a charge, where Paul had preached so long, and where he had been lately apprehended as a disturber of the peace, and sent to Rome for trial. The Alexander of the first epistle is coupled with Hymenæus, as if they were excommunicated together, and this implies that he also lived in or near Ephesus.

Now, if this identity is thus rendered highly probable, we may next inquire, what was the time of the excommunication of Hymenæus and Alexander? The words are simply, "whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." Hence there is nothing in the expression to prove that it was a very recent event. It is rather spoken of, as one already notorious. It has been shown to be pro-

nable that St. Paul did not really visit Ephesus after his return from Rome. The excommunication, therefore, if inflicted when he was present, must have been during his last visit, and since the church was founded during the same visit, it was probably towards its close, a short time before the tumult drove the apostle from the city. Now Timothy had been sent into Macedonia at that very time, before St. Paul left Ephesus; and thus the excommunication, if it were near the close of that residence, would occur during Timothy's absence. Hence it would be more natural for St. Paul thus to remind him of it, than if he had actually witnessed it with his own eyes.

We are thus led to conclude that Hymenæus and Alexander had been excommunicated by the apostle at Ephesus, not very long before the tumult arose; that Hymenæus had continued ever since to propagate his heresy, and had been joined in it by Philetus also; that Alexander, far from repenting of his sin, and his railing against the gospel, had persevered in it, and become the most malignant opposer of the apostle, and that he was probably the occasion of his being apprehended on this journey, and sent a prisoner to Rome.

Let us now turn to the history. From the abrupt manner in which the writer introduces the name in that passage (Acts xix. 33), it is clear that he supposes him to be a person well known by report to Theophilus, and to most of his readers. "They drew Alexander (not, one Alexander) out of the multitude." He must, therefore, have been some one at Ephesus, whose name was of notoriety when St. Luke wrote, at the close of St. Paul's first imprisonment. Was he then a favourer or an adversary of the apostle? The question is solved by the eagerness of the Jews to thrust him forward, that he might make a defence to the people. Their object must have been to increase the odium against the apostle, and to remove it from themselves, and Alexander was the pleader whom they thought the best adapted for this purpose. Now, who could be more likely to answer their design than a Jew of determined character, who had once been a disciple, but since been expelled from the church, and who was now full of bitter hatred against it? Alexander the coppersmith, if the same who had been shortly before excommunicated, along with Hymenæus, for his blasphemous speeches, would just be the advocate they would desire, to work evil to the apostle at that crisis; and his later conduct justified their

expectations, since he is singled out, six years later, for the malignity and success of his opposition.

This agreement between the two epistles and the history, though it results only from a minute comparison, on adopting in each case the more probable opinion, can never, perhaps, from the brevity of the passages, be considered certain and demonstrative. Yet when we find that the excommunication of Alexander is thrown back, by the address at Miletus, to the time just before the tumult, and that some Alexander, well known in the church, was then prominent as the chosen mouthpiece of the Jews; when we remember that it was Demetrius the silversmith who raised the disturbance, by getting together the workmen of similar trades, and hence that Alexander the coppersmith was more likely than other Jews to gain a hearing; when we remember, too, that it was Jews from Asia or Ephesus who caused the apostle's first imprisonment, and their malice which also led to his apprehension a second time, and thus procured his death, there seems to be a chain of circumstantial evidence, to prove the identity, which may well satisfy a thoughtful mind. And this being once allowed, it is certain that no coincidence can be more evidently beyond the suspicion of an artificial origin. The correspondence must have resulted from reality, and from that alone.

No. VII.

2 Tim. iv. 19. "Salute Prisca and Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus."

These are here the only parties to whom St. Paul sends his greeting. To learn the reasons of this special notice we must consult the first part of the letter, and the previous history. Onesiphorus had shown special kindness to St. Paul during his former stay at Ephesus, and more lately at Rome. His household, therefore, who were still at Ephesus, had a claim to his peculiar love. Aquila and Priscilla had not only lived and wrought with him, both at Corinth and Ephesus, but even had laid down their own necks to save him from danger. They were at Ephesus when he wrote the first time to Corinth; at Rome, about a year later, when he addressed a letter to that church; and now, after six years, they are implied to be at Ephesus again. This exclusive mention of Onesiphorus, whose kindness is recorded here only, and of Aquila and

Priscilla, whose intimacy with the apostle appears in the history, and in two earlier letters, is a feature of reality not easy for any counterfeit to produce.

No. VIII.

2 Tim. iv. 20, 21. "Erastus abode at Corinth: but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick. Do thy diligence to come before winter."

The coincidence with regard to Erastus, a citizen of Corinth, has been noted in the *Horæ*. Two points, however, require elucidation; how far these statements are in harmony with the route of St. Paul, and their real drift, as a message to Timothy.

It has been shown that the two former letters were probably written at or near Corinth, where the apostle must have stayed a short time, after visiting Macedonia, and before the circuit of Epirus. Since Erastus was a citizen of Corinth, it is likely that he would stay there, after attending the apostle so far on his circuit. Also, if St. Paul travelled from Macedonia to Troas, where he left the cloak with Carpus, he would be likely to proceed to Miletus, as he had done before, when he parted from the Ephesian elders. If he was arrested there, before Timothy had returned from the interior district, the knowledge that Erastus had stayed at Corinth, and that Trophimus had been left sick at Miletus, would probably reach him first by this letter. All these indications of the route fully agree.

But why does the apostle mention these persons? It has been supposed that they were meant for an instruction to Timothy to call on them in his way, and bring them with him. This is possible, but hardly probable. The presence of Luke, Mark, and Timothy, would be enough for his purpose. The object seems rather to explain how it happened that Luke alone was with him, and to show the pressing need that Mark and Timothy should come to him. With this view he first reminds him how many of his former helpers were absent, one of them through cowardice, and the others by commissions given them on the previous circuit. He next relieves his anxiety about his own charge, by telling him that Tychicus, the fittest substitute, had been sent away to supply his absence, who was probably the bearer of this letter. "Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus." Presently he remembers that there were two others

of his helpers whose absence he had not explained, Erastus and Trophimus. Having thus shown how widely his companions were scattered, only Luke being now with him, he renews his entreaty once more, with all the urgency of love. "Do thy diligence to come before winter."

All this bespeaks reality in a manner which can be mistaken by no thoughtful and serious mind.

BOOK II.

THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Introduction.

THE argument, unfolded in the *Horæ Paulinæ*, not only proves the authenticity of St. Paul's letters, but supplies most powerful evidence to confirm the truth and accuracy of the narrative in the book of Acts. This proof, however, is partial and incomplete, since those parts of the history with which the letters are contemporary form hardly one-fifth of the whole. It is true that many statements of the historian, in the rest of the work, are also confirmed by the same letters; but still the assertions respecting earlier occurrences which these contain are different in their own nature from the facts which they substantiate at the very time of their being written. Hence it is desirable to extend the argument to the whole narrative, and to exhibit those internal coincidences, which prove it to be authentic history. Since the instances to be given are independent of each other, a rigorous classification is superfluous. Those will, in general, be placed first in order which are derived from the history alone; next, those which require a comparison with the letters; and lastly, those which suppose the letters to have been already proved authentic, before they can supply a valid argument.

No. I.

First of all, the book of Acts is consistent with itself, in the local origin which it ascribes to the new religion of Christ, and in its allusion to the prejudice it had to encounter on this very account. The statements, in each case, are plainly incidental, natural, and almost necessary in their own context, but all agree thoroughly with each other.

The first occurs in the words of the angels, at the Ascension. "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." (Acts i. 11.)

The second in the language of the Jews on the day of Pentecost.

Acts ii. 6-8. "Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galilæans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born?"

Two others occur in the discourses of Peter to Cornelius, and of Paul at Antioch.

Acts x. 36, 37. "The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ: (he is Lord of all :) that word I say ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power."

Acts xiii. 30, 31. "But God raised him from the dead: and he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people."

In these four passages, the same fact appears under various forms, that the preaching of Christ began from Galilee, and that the apostles were all Galilæans, and had come up together with Jesus before his death, from Galilee to Jerusalem. The title used so repeatedly, Jesus of Nazareth, is in harmony with these statements. If the founder of the new doctrine had his home at Nazareth, it was a natural consequence that his first disciples should be Galilæans.

But if these statements are thought to be too plain, and the fact itself too certain, to constitute any argument, there is a further coincidence, entirely free from this suspicion. If the new doctrine arose in Galilee, its founder lived at Nazareth, and all his first disciples were Galilæans, it is very natural that this should arouse the prejudices of the Jews, especially those who lived at Jerusalem, and regarded the holy city as the natural centre of their religious system, and the great fountain of ecclesiastical authority. It is equally natural that the

dislike and hatred of the gospel, aggravated by this local prejudice, should display itself in some nickname of reproach applied to these teachers from despised Galilee.

Now this fact, so natural and inevitable under the real circumstances, is incidentally disclosed to us, not in the narrative itself, which might be open to suspicion, but in the very place where it would be likely to appear, the discourse of a public accuser. Let us examine the words of Tertullus, pleading against St. Paul before the Roman governor.

Acts xxiv. 4, 5. "Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I pray thee that thou wouldest hear us of thy clemency a few words. For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a *ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes.*"

Nothing can be more natural and consistent than these statements; that, since the founder of the gospel lived at Nazareth, his first disciples should be from Galilee; that the odium of the new doctrine should be increased among the Jews of Judæa, and their rulers at Jerusalem, by its obscure and provincial origin; that their dislike and contempt should give currency to an opprobrious nickname; and finally, that a professional accuser should make use of this nickname, in seeking to crush a hated teacher of the new faith, and to render his cause odious to the Roman governor. Yet how truthful, and evidently undesigned, is the way in which it is introduced by the historian, who never hints the existence of such a nickname, when speaking in his own person. The sting of this reproach is clearly essential, in a faithful report of the orator's address to Felix; while the fact, that this was the nickname in popular use against the disciples, is an undesigned confirmation of the whole history.

No. II.

Acts iv. 36, 37. "And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet."

There is an observable, though secret harmony, as professor Blunt has remarked, in all the notices of the history of Barnabas. We are here told that he was a native of *Cyprus*;

and this statement is a key to explain several facts in the course of the narrative.

And first, when Saul came up to Jerusalem, after his conversion, and was suspected by all the disciples, we are told that it was Barnabas who took him, and brought him to the apostles. Now Saul was a native of Tarsus, the chief town of Cilicia, and Cyprus was usually annexed to that province. It was a city famous for its schools, to which many resorted. And since Barnabas was a Levite, and had landed property, he would most probably be well acquainted with Tarsus, and the more eminent Jews of that place. It appears elsewhere from this history, that Saul was the son of a Pharisee, and sent to Jerusalem to complete his education (xxiii. 6, xxii. 3). Hence, the family would in all probability be known to Barnabas; while his proverbial gentleness, as "the son of consolation," would further dispose him to notice the young convert, and make him the fittest person to introduce him to the other disciples.

Again, when the first Gentile converts were gathered at Antioch, tidings came to the mother church, "and they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch." No reason is assigned for their choice. Beside, however, his general qualifications, we are told, a little before, that it was *men of Cyprus and Cyrene*, who had been the instruments in these conversions. How natural, then, and suitable, that Barnabas, the most eminent believer from Cyprus in the parent church, should be sent to examine their success, and superintend their further labours, in this new and important sphere.

Again, when Barnabas and Saul set out on their first circuit among the heathen, "they departed unto Seleucia; and from thence *they sailed to Cyprus*," (xiii. 4). In this island the first convert from the idolatrous heathen, of whom we have a record, was brought to the faith, in the person of the Roman deputy, Sergius Paulus. This choice of Cyprus for their first station on their journey, is readily explained, when we remember that Barnabas was "a Levite of Cyprus."

On their second journey, when Paul and Barnabas parted company, we find a similar coincidence. "Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus." He naturally chose to visit first his native island, the earliest scene of their labours in their former journey.

These coincidences are found in the narrative, when taken alone, and are sufficiently striking. But their effect will be increased by a comparison with St. Paul's letters. We there learn, quite incidentally, at the close of the Epistle to the Colossians, that Mark was "sister's son to Barnabas." (Col. iv. 10.) By this passing hint, three or four other features of internal harmony are brought to light.

First, it follows that "Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark," was the own sister of Barnabas. It is no wonder, then, that her house was a place of chief resort to the early Christians, and that "many were gathered together, praying." A sister of Barnabas, if a sharer in her brother's faith and piety, would naturally hold an eminent place among the early believers at Jerusalem.

Next, it is explained further, why Barnabas and Saul, on their return from Jerusalem, should "take with them John, whose surname was Mark." It was natural that the uncle should select his own nephew for his future companion, if otherwise qualified.

Again, it was when they loosed from Paphos and came to Pamphylia, that "John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem." Since his mother was the sister of Barnabas, Cyprus would be her native island; and the journey of Mark, so far, might be accounted for by his local attachments, apart from a deep interest in the cause of Christ. And hence, perhaps, the refusal of St. Paul afterwards to receive him for his companion in the second journey.

Lastly, when the dispute arose, the zeal of Barnabas in favour of Mark, and his separation from St. Paul, rather than part with his young friend, is explained, in part, by the relation between them. His sister's son would be the object of a peculiar affection on that ground alone. And thus the ties of nature would conspire with the gentleness of disposition, in "the son of consolation," to produce a more lenient interpretation of Mark's former secession, and a fuller confidence in his faithfulness for the time to come.

When we compare these different incidents, and observe how they enter into the very texture of the narrative, while they secretly correspond with each other, the remark of professor Blunt is hardly too strong, that "the harmony pervading everything connected with Barnabas is enough in itself to stamp the book of Acts as a history of perfect fidelity."

No. III.

Acts vii. 58. "And they cast him out of the city, and stoned him; and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul."

This is the first mention in the history of that great apostle, whose labours and conversion occupy almost two-thirds of the whole narrative. It must strike one, at first sight, as very abrupt. Even allowing that the fierce zeal of the young pharisee would make him forward in such a cause, why should a young man, and he too a stranger in Jerusalem, be so prominent in the narrative? There were numbers of zealots, equally fierce against the new sect, who might seem to have a better claim to appear.

Though the earnest, conscientious zeal of the youthful bigot will doubtless go far to explain his abrupt appearance, there is another circumstance, overlooked by most readers, which completes the explanation. In the narrative of his conversion, his native place first comes into view, in the words of our Lord in vision, "Inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul, of Tarsus; for, behold, he prayeth." In his own words to the chief captain it is stated more fully still. "I am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city," (xxi. 39.) Now if we turn to inquire who were the leaders in the controversy with Stephen, the historian has the following statement. "There arose certain of the synagogue, which is called the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and some of them of Cilicia and Asia, disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake: then they suborned men." Hence it appears that two synagogues of foreign Jews were the leaders in the persecution, and that one of them belonged to the Jews of Cilicia and Asia. How natural that a young Cilician Jew, of Tarsus the capital, and trained at the feet of Gamaliel for several years at Jerusalem, should appear in the foreground at the time of the martyr's death.

No. IV.

Acts viii. 5. "Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them." (v. 25:) "And they, when they had testified and preached the word of the Lord,

returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans."

It is plain how simply and naturally this visit of Philip to Samaria flows out of the narrative of the previous persecution, and is followed by the preaching of Peter and John in the Samaritan villages.

Now the sequence of the history, so natural and unforced in itself, presents a marked coincidence with the previous statement of the historian, where he places on record the parting words of our Lord to his apostles. "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth," Acts i. 8. The history, without the least effort or violence, falls exactly into this order. The church, first of all, was founded in Jerusalem (Acts ii. 1). It then spreads to the cities round about (ch. v. 16). After the martyrdom of Stephen, for the first time it extends to Samaria, by the preaching of Philip, of Peter, and John (ch. viii. 5-25). Then, and not before, provision is made for the call of the Gentiles, first by the conversion of Saul, and his commission to be the apostle of the Gentiles; and next, by that of Cornelius, when Gentile converts were actually gathered into the fold of Christ. Yet the prediction is given so briefly, and the order of events is so natural and spontaneous, as to evince clearly the absence of all artificial design.

No. V.

Acts viii. 40. "But Philip was found at Azotus: and passing through, he preached in all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea."

Here the history of Philip ceases abruptly, and the narrative of Saul's conversion begins. We are left to conjecture why Cæsarea should be the end of his journey. It might have been his previous home; or else, while persecution raged at Jerusalem, he might choose this main seaport of Palestine, as the place best suited for carrying on his missionary labours among the multitudes of Grecian Jews, who kept arriving or setting out from the Holy Land. The historian passes all these con-

jectures in silence, and simply leaves the evangelist at Cæsarea. He then relates the conversion of Saul, the resurrection of Tabitha, the conversion of Cornelius, the formation of the first Gentile church at Antioch, the persecution of Herod, and martyrdom of James, with the sudden death of the persecutor. He continues with a narrative of the first circuit of Barnabas and Saul, the return to Antioch, and the council at Jerusalem; the second circuit of Paul and Silas, the entrance into Europe, the preaching of the apostle at Philippi, at Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens, and his stay of eighteen months at Corinth. We have then his return, by way of Ephesus, to Jerusalem and Antioch, a second circuit through Galatia and Phrygia, till he comes down to the coast, and takes up his abode for three years at Ephesus. Then follows his journey through Macedonia to Corinth, and again from Corinth to Philippi, where the historian rejoins him. The course of their voyage is next given, with the accuracy of an eye-witness, by Troas, Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Trogyllium, and Miletus; then by Coos, Rhodes, and Patara, and by the western side of Cyprus, to Tyre, with their short delay in that place with the disciples. They next arrive at Ptolemais, and then at Cæsarea, where their voyage is at an end. And here the evangelist comes into sight once more, with an explanation why the historian parted from him before on his reaching this city. "And the next day, we that were of Paul's company departed, and came unto Cæsarea: and we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven; and abode with him. And the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophecy," Acts xxi. 8, 9.

Thus it appears, by this incidental statement, that Philip took up his abode at Cæsarea, and had children in that place, who trod in the steps of their father's faith, and were now, it would seem, grown up to full age, which might very well be the case, after an interval of about twenty years. The juncture in the loops of the Mosaic tabernacle was not more perfect than the correspondence of these two passages with each other. Yet who that reads them in their own context can possibly imagine that this agreement is artificial.

No. VI.

Acts vi. 1-5. "And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the

Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.—And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch.”

The party who complain, in this narrative, are the Grecians, or Jews who spoke the Greek language, and were the minority at Jerusalem. The apostles advise that seven men should be selected from the disciples, to redress the alleged grievance. The choice is left with the whole multitude, and no restriction is imposed, except that they should be “men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom.” Yet it appears, in the most indirect manner possible, that they were all chosen from among the party who felt aggrieved. All the names, without one exception, are clearly Grecian.

Now that such should have been the case is very natural, when we remember the description, just before, of the glowing love among the early Christians, which seems to have had no interruption until this unhappy murmuring arose. The circumstance is as beautiful in the moral lesson it affords, as historically probable from the other facts already recorded. Yet how indirectly it is revealed by the historian, who simply mentions the names of the seven who were chosen, but forbears a single word of comment!

No. VII.

The conversion of Saul is related three times in the book of Acts, once by the historian, and twice by the apostle himself; in the former case before a Jewish, in the latter before a mixed audience, consisting mainly of Gentiles. The comparison of these accounts will bring to light several marks of truth, in the partial variation amidst substantial agreement.

Acts ix. 1–9. “And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were

men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus; and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest; it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink."

Acts xxii. 4-11. "And I persecuted this way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women. As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders; from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished. And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus."

Acts xxvi. 10-18. "Many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities,

Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, at midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Sau', Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me."

There is one apparent contradiction, between the first and second of these accounts, which alone may exclude every suspicion of a merely artificial and collusive agreement. The companions of Saul, according to the historian, "heard the voice, but saw no man." Yet he reports St. Paul himself to have told the Jews, that they "saw indeed the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me." The seeming opposition is not hard to reconcile. It is perfectly consistent that the companions of Saul might see the light, without being able to discern the person of our Lord, which was visible to Saul only. And this solution, in one case, which an exact comparison supplies to us, will suggest another, precisely similar, as to the voice. They heard the voice (*τῆς φωνῆς*), but they did not hear the voice of him that talked with me (*τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ λαλοῦντος μοι*). Both the difference of the two phrases, and the analogy with regard to the light, teach us that they heard the sound of the voice, but could not distinguish the words that were uttered. The traditional idea of the *Bath-kol* among the Jews, was a sound from heaven, like thunder, accompanied by articulate words. On this view both statements are fully reconciled, and the scope of each appears the very same. His companions saw and heard enough to confirm the reality of the vision, but were not permitted to see and hear the

person and words of our Lord, a privilege reserved for the future apostle alone.

The substantial agreement of the three accounts is evident, but might equally exist, whether the history were spurious or genuine. It is in the minute variations, and their exact propriety in each instance, that these passages become a proof that the narrative is real.

The commission from the high priest is mentioned in each passage, but with some difference. First, by the writer himself, in the simple order of time. "He went to the high priest, and desired letters." In the apostle's defence before the Jews, with an appeal to him as a present witness, and with a fuller mention of the whole Jewish council. "As also the high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders; from whom also I received letters, etc." In the defence before Agrippa, since here it was of less importance, except to show the notoriety of his conduct, it is introduced in a parenthesis. "Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, etc." This is in thorough keeping with the circumstances and special object in every instance.

The voice spake to Saul in the Hebrew tongue. This circumstance, as being minute, is naturally omitted in the direct narrative (ix. 4), and as naturally specified by Paul himself, (xxvi. 14), since the account of an eye and ear witness has commonly more of detail than suits a general history. Why, however, in this case should he not have specified it on both occasions alike? The answer is easy, that before the Jews he was himself speaking in the Hebrew tongue. (Acts xxii. 2.)

There is a similar variation in the descriptive names. The historian describes the objects of the persecution by their simple title, "the disciples of the Lord." The apostle, before the Jews, employs a neutral term, which could not arouse their prejudices, "them of this way." But before Agrippa, where there was no such need of caution to avoid offending the ears of bigots, he indulges his own feelings, by giving them a title of honour which aggravates his own guilt.—"Many of the saints did I shut up in prison." In like manner, when speaking to the Jews, he gives the national title of "brethren" even to the unbelieving Jews of Damascus. This is one of those conciliatory touches which mark a real discourse.

Again, the message is given at much greater length in the

address to Agrippa. It was natural for St. Paul himself to give a more particular account of it than the historian. On the other hand, this additional matter would have defeated his purpose in the address to the Jews, which was to prepare them gradually for the unwelcome statement, that he was sent "far away to the Gentiles." But this same part was especially suitable to mention before Festus to Agrippa, since it justified all his later conduct. "Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." All this is an example of entire consistency with the actual circumstances.

The vision itself is described twice in nearly the same words. Yet the first defence has two slight additions, that it was about noon, and that the light was great. In the second defence, where the apostle was more at liberty to state his own impressions, it is given still more fully. "At midday, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun," and its reality is indirectly confirmed by the words "shining round about me and them which journeyed with me."

Again, the history mentions simply the fact of his blindness, but the apostle states its cause, as an eye-witness would naturally do.—"And when I could not see *for the glory of that light*."

All these minute differences are accounted for at once, if the vision really occurred, and the two defences were really made, just as given in the history; but can be reasonably explained in no other way.

No. VIII.

The interview of Ananias with the apostle, which followed the vision, is related, twice only, in these words:—

Acts ix. 10–18. "And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I am here, Lord. And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for *one* called Saul, of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth, and hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his sight. Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem. And

here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name. But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel: for I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake. And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized."

Acts xxii. 12-16. "And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there, came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked up upon him. And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. And now, why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord."

Here, also, there are many features of minute propriety, which reveal themselves on close observation. There is a substantial agreement, while yet the varieties present an evident coincidence with the general object of the history, and the special purpose of the apostle's defence.

First, the account is omitted entirely before Festus and Agrippa, since it was not needful to explain the conduct of the apostle. The vision in the way to Damascus was a sufficient warrant, when the words of the Lord were fully given. But the same motive which led St. Paul to be silent, before the Jews, about the commission to the Gentiles in that first vision, rendered the mention of Ananias necessary, in order to prepare for the mention of it in the later vision at Jerusalem. The unwelcome truth is thus announced, only when it has had the authority of three Divine messages.

Next, the historian calls Ananias a *disciple*; but the apostle, "a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there." Such a description was admirably suited to his immediate object, to conciliate his

audience in every lawful way. How consistent it was with the other account appears from Acts xxi. 20, in the words of James: "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and *they are all zealous of the law.*"

The words of Ananias have two parts, one before, and the other after, Saul's recovery of sight. In the defence before the Jews the former part is shortened, for the same reason that the vision to Ananias is omitted, since the repeated mention of Jesus as Lord might arouse their prejudices too violently. Hence only what is essential is given, in the words, "Brother Saul, receive thy sight." The second part is given fully, for two reasons. The title used, "The God of our fathers," was adapted to conciliate a Jewish audience; while that ascribed to our Lord was also the gentlest assertion of his claims, the Just One, and the unwelcome disclosure that was to follow is mitigated, being introduced by the more general statement.—"Thou shalt be a witness *to all men*, of what thou hast seen and heard." In the history, the speech is omitted, but its immediate effect is related, that "he arose and was baptized."

Even in the recovery there is a remarkable propriety in the narrative. The historian describes it, as it would be observed by the bystanders. "Immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales, and he received sight forthwith." But the apostle, by one slight touch, places his own experience of the change vividly before us. "And the same hour *I looked up upon him.*" The first object he saw was a Christian brother, the messenger to him of mercy from the Lord. All these features imply a history of real events, with a real apology before a Jewish audience.

No. IX.

Acts xi. 12, 13. "And the Spirit bade me go with them, nothing doubting. Moreover these six brethren accompanied me, and we entered into the man's house: and he showed us how he had seen an angel in his house, which stood and said unto him, Send men to Joppa, and call for Simon, whose surname is Peter."

The report given by Peter, and the direct narrative of the historian, are almost verbal copies of each other, only that the apostle confines himself to that order in which the circumstances disclosed themselves to him. Hence he begins with

his own vision, and mentions that of Cornelius, only as reported by Cornelius himself. Yet here we have two or three circumstances added, which bespeak the reality of his vindication. He mentions the number of his companions, and alludes to them as present, to confirm his statement. It was equally natural that he should call them "these six brethren," when they were by his side, as that the history should speak of them more generally as "certain brethren from Joppa," or "they of the circumcision, as many as were with Peter."

The presence of these six brethren is an equally natural circumstance. They had just witnessed an event which filled them with wonder, so foreign was it from their own expectations. They must have known what mingled curiosity and suspicion it would excite among the whole Jewish church at Jerusalem. How probable, and almost inevitable, that they would accompany Peter, to confirm his statements by their own testimony! And hence the words, "Moreover these six brethren accompanied me," form one of those minute touches, which distinguish the statements of a contemporary from those of a remote historian.

One further coincidence may be traced in the words of Peter, which is lost in our version. "He showed us how he had seen the angel, etc." Why is the article prefixed? That the reason is not at all self-evident appears from the fact, that our translators have passed it by as unmeaning. Yet a little reflection will explain it. When Peter came to Jerusalem, the rumour of what had occurred had reached the church, and gave rise to their expostulation with him. However vague and general the account, it would be sure to make mention of that angelic vision to Cornelius, which had been spoken of before a large company, and which the six brethren had probably made known before the discussion occurred. Hence St. Peter would naturally allude to it as a fact which they had learned already. "And he showed us how he had seen the angel in his house." This is another of those minute touches of reality which mark authentic history.

No. X.

Acts xiii. 1. "Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, the foster brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul."

This mention of one Lucius of Cyrene, among the foremost teachers at Antioch, completes a chain of notices which agree remarkably together.

Among the multitude of foreign Jews on the day of Pentecost, who marvelled at the gift of tongues, and who probably furnished most of the three thousand converts, we have express mention of those who came "from the parts of Lybia about Cyrene."

When the seven deacons were appointed, and Stephen wrought great wonders among the people, among the foremost of his adversaries were they of the synagogue of the Libertines, and *Cyrenians*, and Alexandrians. It is very likely that on both of these occasions there would be not a few converts from among the Jews of Cyrene.

On the dispersion, again, which followed the death of Stephen, we are told that some travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching to Jews only. "And some of them were men of Cyprus and *Cyrene*, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus."

Now since it appears that Cyrenian teachers took a main part in founding the church of Antioch, it is quite natural and consistent that, even in this short list, we should find one "Lucius of Cyrene." It is also possible that the Roman surname of Simeon "that was called *Niger*," (or *black*) may be explained by the supposition that he also was a Cyrenian or African Jew. If not, we may suppose him to represent the teachers of Cyprus, as Lucius was the most distinguished of those from Cyrene.

No. XI.

Acts xiii. 8, 9. "But Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn away the deputy from the faith. Then Saul, (who also is called Paul,) filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him."

The repeated mention of a double name, in the case of the sorcerer and the apostle, suggests another mark of real history, which extends through the whole work. This consists in the agreement of the names and surnames with the probable circumstances in almost every instance.

The native language of Palestine was the Syriac, or that modified form of Hebrew which prevailed after the return

from Babylon. Yet many causes had induced an extensive prevalence of the Greek tongue,—the rule of a Grecian dynasty, for three centuries, in Syria and Egypt, the erection of many Greek cities, the systematic policy of Herod the Great and his sons, and the necessities of commerce, since Greek was the constant medium of commercial and literary intercourse. More recently, Judæa had become a Roman province. A Roman army was constantly resident among them, and multitudes of Roman Jews resorted to the annual feasts. Hence the three languages were more or less mixed together, Greek and Syriac struggling for the mastery, with a considerable infusion of Latin words and phrases also.

The effect of this state of things in Palestine will be naturally seen in the proper names. Names, which are strictly such, are usually left untranslated, but when they are significant surnames, it is natural to translate them into the most familiar language. Also some names are usual in one country and others in another. With these prefatory remarks, let us now consider the names that meet us in the history.

First, the names of the apostles are all Jewish, with two exceptions. But Peter, we know otherwise, is only a surname, answering to the Syriac, *Cephas*, while his proper name, Simon, was Jewish. Philip is the only purely Greek name; and this is easily explained, since Philip the tetrarch had been ruler of the district nearest to Galilee, from the time of our Lord's birth. It was always usual for parents to name their children after the rulers of their own day.

Next, one of the two candidates for the apostleship was "Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus." The two names are both Jewish; but the surname is Roman, and is retained, like the two Hebrew names, in the Greek history. It might possibly be given him by the Romans in Judæa, for his integrity, and hence applied to him by others as an untranslated surname.

The names in the assembly of Jewish priests are, Annas and Caiaphas, John and Alexander. Three of these are Jewish, the last is purely Greek. It is, however, well known that it had been a frequent name among the Jewish rulers. A king Alexander, and a queen Alexandra, had governed them before Hyrcanus, and one of the sons of Herod, a favourite with the people, had the same name.

Again, Joses was surnamed Barnabas by the apostles. It

was a name of honour, given him at Jerusalem, where Hebrew prevailed; and hence the historian expounds its meaning—the son of consolation. Ananias and Sapphira are both of them Hebrew names also, and the first of them occurs three times, once here, once as the name of a disciple at Damascus, and again as the name of the Jewish high priest.

Two centurions only are named in the history, and both of the names are eminently Roman. Cornelius was the name of a Roman family, and Julius had become doubly common from the reputation of Julius Cæsar. The names of the two companies are equally appropriate, the *Italian*, from the country, and the *August*, from the title of the emperor.

The disciple at Joppa was named Tabitha, by interpretation, Dorcas. The historian speaks of her under the latter name, but makes Peter address her under the former. The mixture and conflict of the native or colloquial, and the literary language, could scarcely be shown in a more expressive way.

We have next the mention of “John, whose surname was Mark.” The name is Jewish, the surname Roman. Now from the Gospel of Mark it is plain that this evangelist had to do afterwards with the Latin Christians. It is quite possible that his mother, the sister of Barnabas, was married to one of the ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, or Roman Jews dwelling at Jerusalem, who are mentioned earlier in the history. In this case he would naturally have a Hebrew name and a Roman surname; while in his missionary labours, the latter name, being much more distinctive, would supersede the former.

The apostle himself was the child of a zealous Jew, and was also by birth a Roman citizen (xxiii. 6, xxii. 28). Accordingly the history tells us that he had two names, one of a Jewish king, and the other of a Roman family, as the Conqueror Paullus Æmilius, and the Roman deputy, Sergius Paulus, may prove. There is thus an indirect coincidence between his double character and the double name which he bore. It is in exact agreement with these remarks, that he begins to assume his Roman, in preference to his Jewish name, at the opening of his first missionary circuit among the Gentiles. For the change is evidently not from the mere choice of the historian, but a real fact in the history. It appears in the wording of the apostolic decree, and in the language of the Jewish exorcists and Gentile craftsmen at Ephesus.

We have next the names of the two prophets, Judas, sur-

named Barsabas, and Silas. The former has a Jewish name and surname, each of them found elsewhere, in Joseph Barsabas, called Justus, and in Judas the brother of James. The other is probably Roman, and a contraction of Silvanus, which is evidently a Roman name. Accordingly, we find that Judas returns to Jerusalem, as if his calling were rather the gospel of the circumcision; while Silas remains at Antioch, and is chosen by Paul as the fittest companion on his mission to the Gentiles. It is a coincidence still more striking, that Silas, who has a Roman name, proves to be really a Roman citizen (xvi. 37, 38). "They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans. . . . And the serjeants told these words unto the magistrates; and they feared, when they heard that they were Romans."

Again, Timothy, the son of a Greek father, has a purely Greek name; yet one which is naturally indicative of the faith of his Jewish mother. Lydia, a Greek from Thyatira, has a Greek name, borrowed from the neighbouring province. The names of Dionysius and Damaris are equally in keeping with their country. Those of Aquila and Priscilla are apparently Roman, and though Pontus was his birthplace, it is very possible that, during a long residence at Rome, these names of Latin origin had superseded any other. The names of Paul's companions are equally in harmony with their origin. They are all Greek, except Secundus and Gaius, which are Roman names. Yet Sopater and Aristarchus were Jews, as we learn from the epistles, but Jews of the dispersion, from Thessalonica and Berea.

We have another agreement in the case of the chief captain, Lysias. We are told that he was not a Roman citizen by birth, but obtained that freedom at a great cost. Accordingly, his name, Lysias, is thoroughly Greek, though his prenomen, Claudius, is Roman. From first to last the harmony is unobtrusive, and still complete. The character of the names agrees perfectly with the history of the persons to whom they belong.

No. XII.

Acts xvi. 12. "And from thence we came to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony."

Here a fact is mentioned in passing, which appears in no

other historian, and yet is confirmed by the evidence of coins, that Philippi was a Roman colony. Now let us observe how the same truth comes out in the subsequent narrative. After the dispossession of the damsel, who had a spirit of divination, we read as follows:—

“And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market place, unto the rulers, and brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, *being Romans.*”

It is this appeal to their pride, as Romans, which seems to excite the violence of the multitude, and hurry the magistrates on to acts really unlawful. “And the multitude rose up together against them: and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them.” Thus the whole account really hinges on the brief notice above, that Philippi was “a colony.” Nor is the force of the coincidence much affected, if we suppose that the mention of this fact is prospective, and not incidental. Though not undesigned, it will equally have clear marks of reality. There is so much said as may be consistent with a design to explain the tumult, but not so much as to be consistent with any fraudulent purpose. For the whole is contained in three words, and the allusion is as brief and transient as it was possible to be.

No. XIII.

There is a remarkable unity of statement, in various passages, with regard to the high reverence paid to the character of a Roman citizen. This is a harmony without possibility of being the result of design, since it is so thoroughly unwrought into the texture of the history.

The first instance occurs at Philippi, after the tumult mentioned above. It will be desirable to give the whole context.

Acts xvi. 35–39. “And when it was day, the magistrates sent the serjeants, saying, Let those men go. And the keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore depart, and go in peace. But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? Nay, verily; but let them

come themselves and fetch us out. And the serjeants told these words unto the magistrates; and they feared, when they heard that they were Romans. And they came and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city."

Many chapters, and several years intervene, before the subject is introduced again. When Paul was brought before Gallio at Corinth, the cause was dismissed, before any question of citizenship could arise. But on his last return to Jerusalem, and after his defence before the people, the narrative continues.

"And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? When the centurion heard *that*, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest; for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born. Then straightway they departed from him which should have tortured him; and the chief captain also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him."

The coincidence between these two narratives is striking, and still it is evidently undesigned. The fact related is essential, in each case, to the sequence of the history. On the former occasion, it explains the departure from Philippi, and here, the renewed examination before the Jewish council. There is a further harmony, even in the features of contrast. At Philippi, the magistrates had proceeded to the utmost reach of injustice, without suffering the apostles to raise their voice against it. Hence the indignant tone of the apostle, "Nay, verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out." In the present instance, the chief captain was not only ignorant that Paul was a Roman citizen, but had reason to suspect, from the fury of the Jews against him, that he must have been guilty of some notorious crime. Hence that inquiry just before: "Art not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers?" This explains the modest expostulation, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?"

Nor is this the whole of the coincidence. We have seen that the chief captain is represented to have been seriously alarmed, when he learned that he had bound a Roman citizen. How does he extricate himself from the danger which his rashness had brought upon him? First, by a scrupulous and even zealous care to protect him from violence; and next, by making a merit of his conduct on this very ground. When the dissension arose in the council, "the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle." When he learns of the conspiracy, he sends no less than four hundred and seventy soldiers for his escort to Antipatris. The words of his letter reveal the motive of his conduct, to wipe away the memory of his fault, in binding a Roman citizen, by double zeal in behalf of his privileges.

"Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix, greeting. This man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman."

Hence he not only conceals the binding of Paul, and the command to scourge him; but by a politic anachronism, represents the rescue at the first to have been the effect of his own zeal, in vindicating the safety and honour of a Roman citizen. This is just what we might expect under the circumstances, from a clever worldling, who had more regard for the favour of his superiors than for truth. Yet it furnishes an indirect testimony to the dignity of the Roman citizen, more striking, perhaps, than even the two former, while the harmony of all the three passages is complete.

No. XIV.

Acts xxi. 10. "And as we tarried there many days, there came down from Judæa a certain prophet named Agabus. And when he was come unto us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own hands and feet, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles."

The same prophet, Agabus, previous to St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, had come down to Antioch, and there

announced the approaching famine. It is in both cases a similar gift which is ascribed to him, and exercised under similar circumstances, to warn of coming trials. But the passage is here quoted, not for this agreement, which deserves a passing notice, but for a difficulty which has to be removed, and which turns on examination into a minute coincidence. If the apostle hurried past Ephesus, because he was anxious to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost, how are we to account for his tarrying at Cæsarea many days?

Our first step towards solving this doubt consists in a more exact version. The word used is not *many* (πολλας), but a *good many, several, or more than usual* (πλειονς). There is a tacit comparison with their stay at other places on their journey, of which several were only of one day, and the two longest of seven days, at Troas and Tyre. Hence an interval of ten to fourteen days would fully satisfy the statement.

Next, we may infer, from the various details of the narrative, that such must really have been the length of their stay at Cæsarea. They sailed from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, were five days on their voyage, and tarried seven days at Troas, of which the last was the Lord's day. Hence the first day of unleavened bread would be Thursday, and eighteen days expire with their departure from Troas. We have one day's voyage to Mitylene, a second to Chios, a third to Trogyllium, and a fourth to Miletus, in all twenty-two days. We may allow two clear days for the delay at Miletus, the voyage being resumed immediately after the parting interview. Three days brought them to Patara, making a total of twenty-seven days. Four days, since the wind seems to have been favourable, would bring them to Tyre, where they tarried seven days. One day was spent on the voyage from Tyre, and at Ptolemais, and another in reaching Cæsarea, a total of thirty-nine days. Hence there would be thirteen days left, inclusive of both extremes, till the day of Pentecost. Now it is plain that the apostle waited at Cæsarea, that he might go up to Jerusalem on the eve of the feast-day; so that the expression of St. Luke is perfectly accurate, and the whole narrative thoroughly consistent. And since there is no further allusion to the circumstance, that the design of reaching Jerusalem by the Pentecost was attained, the whole is a clear example of undesigned coincidence.

No. XV.

Acts xxi. 29. "For they had before seen with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple."

There are several circumstances in this whole account, which agree remarkably with each other, and with the previous history. And first, we were told previously, that "of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus" accompanied the apostle on his journey. It is consistent that "Trophimus the Ephesian" was seen with him at Jerusalem. But how came he to be at once recognised as a Gentile? We are told that it was "the Jews which were of Asia," or from Ephesus and its neighbourhood, who raised the outcry. But why should these Jews be more forward than any other, in raising a tumult against the apostle? In the first place, the Jews of this district were not the most backward in opposing the gospel, even in the time of Stephen, but are mentioned distinctly among his adversaries. And, what is more important, Ephesus was the latest scene of Paul's continued residence. He had stayed nowhere so long, and nowhere had encountered such furious opposition. Hence it is very natural that Jews from Asia should be the ringleaders in exciting a tumult against him; that they should recognise Trophimus, who came from their own city, and know him to be a Gentile; and that their hasty passion should infer that Paul had brought this Gentile stranger into the temple. His intercourse with such Gentiles was itself an infraction of Jewish habits and prejudices, which Peter only surmounted after a double vision; and hence they would readily infer the commission of a similar offence, by the introduction of Trophimus into the temple.

No. XVI.

There is something strange, at first sight, in the conduct of Gamaliel, Acts v. 33-40. The whole Jewish council seem on the point of adopting extreme measures against the apostles, and their death is almost determined upon, when this eminent teacher of the law interferes. It was at his feet that Saul was trained up (xxii. 3), and imbibed his fierce zeal against the infant church. And yet Gamaliel is the very party who

mitigates the decision, interposes prudential reasons, nay, even seems to intimate a possibility of truth in the apostle's message. "But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

Let us now compare the account of Paul's trial, and see whether it will not help to explain the mystery.

Acts xxiii. 6-9. "But when Paul perceived that one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees: and the multitude was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both. And there arose a great cry: and the scribes that were of the Pharisees' part arose, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man: but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God."

We see here how strong was the jealousy of these two parties, and how rooted their antipathy, where their respective opinions were concerned. The Pharisees are turned, for the moment, from fierce persecutors into zealous advocates of the apostle, when his words give them a fair opening for maintaining their creed against the heterodoxy of the Sadducees. They are willing to suppose that he has really had a vision from a spirit or angel, and that their rivals might be fighting against God through their own incredulity. The whole is an extreme instance of the jealousy between them, since both had been forward in the persecution, till this watchword of strife was given.

Let us now return to the former passage, and see whether the conduct of Gamaliel is not explained by this later occurrence. And first, the leaders in the persecution were Sadducees. "Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him, (which is the sect of the Sadducees,) and were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in the common prison." In the next place, it was a doctrinal offence which was charged upon them. "Ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine." Again, the answer of Peter, while an explicit testimony to the claims of Jesus, is an equally plain avowal of the doctrine of the resurrection. "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus." When Gamaliel

interposes, it is noted that he was "a Pharisee, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people." He might probably fear lest the Sadducees, under the cover of their zeal against the apostles, were securing a triumph for their party, and aiming a covert blow at the orthodox creed of the Pharisees. Hence, while he would not shield the apostle entirely, he would interpose the whole weight of his authority, and that of his followers, to hinder a Sadducean high priest from crushing these irregular, but powerful advocates, of the doctrine of a resurrection. "And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." It is difficult, when the two passages are compared, to resist the natural conclusion, that such were the motives of Gamaliel; and the two occurrences thus present a striking specimen of unobtrusive coincidence.

No. XVII.

There is a remarkable consistency in the statements, not only respecting the deep jealousy of the two Jewish parties, but the conduct and spirit of the Roman governors.

First, we have three independent examples of their contempt and indifference for these Jewish parties, with their doctrinal disputes.

Acts xviii. 12-17. "And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat, saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters. And he drave them from the judgment-seat. Then all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat. And Gallio cared for none of these things."

Acts xxiii. 26-29. "Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix, greeting. This man was taken by the Jews, and should have been killed by them: then came I with the army, and rescued him, having understood that he was a

Roman. And when I would have known the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council : whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds."

Acts xxv. 18-20, in the words of Festus to Agrippa, "Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed : but had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters."

The same indifference or contempt is conspicuous in Gallio, in Lysias, and in Festus, when they allude to these questions of the Jewish law, or superstition.

Another feature, equally natural and consistent, is the anxiety of the Jewish governors to secure the favour of the Jews, and the indifference of those in other places. We have seen that Gallio drove them contemptuously from the judgment-seat. The zeal of the magistrates at Philippi was for the multitude, as Romans, against Jewish disturbers, as the apostles were described to be. When the Jews are the accusers at Thessalonica, though the charge of treason against Cæsar compels the rulers to act against their will, they are satisfied with Jason's security, since they evidently suspect that it is a Jewish quarrel, and nothing more. At Ephesus, the popular clamour is against the Jews, as well as the apostle, and the courtesy of the town-clerk is reserved for a Gentile tumult.

But in Judæa the case is different. With all their contempt for these Jewish questions, the governors are forward to seek the favour of the Jews themselves. "After two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room ; and Felix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound." The same spirit animates his successor. "But Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?"

It is evident that all these are so many signs of reality and historical truth.

No. XVIII.

Acts xxiv. 23. "And he commanded *the centurion* to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him."

What centurion can be alluded to in this definite manner? A close attention to the history will explain it. When Lysias sent Paul with an escort to Cæsarea, "he called unto him two centurions," who were to take two hundred soldiers, and horsemen threescore and ten, and two hundred spearmen. On the morrow, the horsemen went forward from Antipatris to Cæsarea, and the infantry returned to Jerusalem. It is natural to suppose that two centurions were employed, in order that one might take charge of each party after the separation. When the horsemen arrived, they were ordered to keep their prisoner in Herod's prætorium. Hence the mention of *the centurion* is explained. It is doubtless the same who took charge of the horsemen, while the other returned with the foot soldiers to Jerusalem. Yet how indirect is the allusion, so delicate that it is entirely lost in the usual version!

Again, since the character of Felix is notorious in general history for his rapacity, whence this unusual gentleness, in suffering the acquaintance of Paul to come to him? We are told, soon after, that "he hoped money would have been given him by Paul, to have loosed him." If a ransom was to be found, the free admission of his friends was almost necessary. But why should Felix expect a large ransom from a prisoner whose personal habits, we may be sure, gave no particular signs of wealth? Perhaps the key may be found in the statement of Paul, shortly before. "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings." And besides, since Felix had "a more perfect knowledge of that way," he was doubtless aware of the strong attachment which the Christians felt for each other. These notices, though they occur near together, have no trace of intentional accommodation.

No. XIX.

The last chapters of the history have lately been placed in a clear light in Mr. Smith's valuable work, the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, and the fidelity of the whole narrative established, by an appeal to the geography of the Levant, the

usual course of the winds, the descriptions of ancient ships, and the laws of seamanship and navigation. Yet even without this convincing appeal to foreign sources of information, the narrative contains several internal marks of truth.

First, we are told that they sailed under Cyprus, that is, on its lee side, the winds being contrary. In their former voyage, from Patara to Jerusalem, when the wind was favourable, they passed the island on their left, or sailed by its western extremity. Since the wind now compelled them to leave their direct course, they must consequently have sailed by its eastern side. Now this is confirmed by the next verses, when strictly rendered, that they sailed *through* the sea *along* Cilicia and Pamphylia. This coincidence, though based on two successive verses, is worthy of notice; since learned commentators have mistaken the route, perhaps from neglecting to compare the former voyage; while the inference from ver. 5 is almost lost in the common version. So delicate and evanescent, in some cases, are the tests of truth.

Again we read (ver. 6) that the centurion "found a ship of Alexandria, sailing into Italy," and put them therein. When they had reached the Fair Havens, St. Paul told them that there would be loss "not only of the *lading* (or *cargo*) and ship, but also of their lives." After the vision which reversed this threatening, as far as their lives were concerned, we are told (ver. 38) that "when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea."

"The ship," as professor Blunt observes, "was evidently a merchant ship, for mention is made of its lading. The nature of its lading, however, is not directly stated. It was capable of receiving Julius and his company, and bound to the right place for them. This was enough, and all that St. Luke cares to tell. Yet in ver. 38 we find by the merest chance of what its cargo consisted. The tackling was thrown overboard in the early part of the storm; but the freight was, naturally enough, kept till it could be kept no longer, and then we discover, for the first time, that it was wheat. The *wheat* was cast into the sea.

"Now it is a notorious fact that Rome was in a great measure supplied with corn from Alexandria, that in times of scarcity the arrival of the vessels was watched with intense anxiety, that they were of a size not (greatly?) inferior to our line-of-battle ships, a thing by no means usual in the vessels

of that day ; and hence that such a one might well accommodate the centurion and his numerous party, in addition to its own crew and lading."

No. XX.

Acts xi. 26. "And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch."

Ch. xxvi. 27, 28. "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

1 Pet. iv. 16. "Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf."

These are the only three places in the New Testament where the name, Christian, occurs. It is plain that for a long time there was no commonly recognised term of this kind. Hence they are called variously, "they that believed" (ii. 44), "the disciples" (vi. 1), "the disciples of the Lord" (ix. 1), "those of the way" (ix. 2), "the way of God" (xviii. 26), or simply, "the way" (xix. 9). Again, the name of Nazarenes was applied to them by the Jews, as a term of reproach, but plainly arose before the extension of the faith to the Gentiles. It was at Antioch that the large accession of Gentiles first made it impossible to look upon them merely as a Jewish sect, and required the use of some more distinctive title. It was natural, therefore, that the use of such a title should first prevail at Antioch. When the book was written, towards the close of Paul's imprisonment at Rome, the formation of churches in the chief cities of almost every province would awaken inquiry as to the origin of this new name, that was already in every one's mouth. How suitable, then, would be this passing remark of the historian, to show when and where it began to be current.

Again, from the circumstances which gave rise to this new name, it would clearly be in use among the Gentiles, while Christians themselves would usually prefer the names endeared to them by earlier use—the brethren, the disciples of the Lord, believers, the household of faith; and the Jews would cling to their old nick-name, the Nazarenes. Now, in agreement with this view, the name only occurs once again in the history, in the mouth of Agrippa, who was rather a Gentile than a Jew in all his habits of thought, and in the presence of Festus and a Gentile audience. It is found once only in all

the epistles, where St. Peter speaks of the persecution to which believers were exposed from the heathen around them. "Yet let none of you suffer as an evil-doer. . . . Yet if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed." All this exhibits the consistency of truth, in the minute circumstances connected with the early adoption of this ever-memorable name.

No. XXI.

Acts xii. 17. "But he, beckoning unto them with the hand to hold their peace, declared unto them how the Lord had brought him out of the prison. And he said, Go show these things unto James, and to the brethren. And he departed, and went into another place."

Ch. xxi. 17, 18. "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present."

In the list of the apostles (Acts i. 13), James, the son of Zebedee, holds the second place, but the son of Alphæus, the ninth only. Yet after the death of the elder James, and apparently even before, we find James the Less to have a local priority in the church of Jerusalem. Here Peter mentions him in distinction from the whole church, and is silent respecting the other apostles, though it is clear that Paul and Barnabas, at least, were present at the time. In the second passage, the fact is still more evident. It seems implied in the narrative of the council, where this apostle pronounces the final judgment. For this promotion no reason is given in the history, and even no allusion to the time and manner of its occurrence; although the fact is confirmed by a double statement.

Now if we turn to the Epistle to the Galatians, we meet an independent confirmation of the fact, and a possible reason, why this apostle received such a distinction.

Gal. ii. 11, 12. "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For *before that certain came from James*, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision."

It is here plain that, just as in the history, "We went in unto James," denotes their public interview with the church at Jerusalem, so here "to come from James," means to come

from the same parent church at Jerusalem. The correspondence is more striking from the contrast in the two passages.

Again, we have a reason for the distinction, which is not stated in the book of Acts, in these words of St. Paul (Gal. i. 19), "But other of the apostles saw I none, save James *the Lord's brother*."

No. XXII.

Acts iv. 36, 37. "And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite of the country of Cyprus; having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet."

This fact is singled out by the historian, as conspicuous among many instances of self-denying liberality. Barnabas, like a true Levite, though he was the owner of landed property, parted with all for the cause of Christ. No further notice of the fact occurs in the narrative, where he is afterwards commended for other excellences, but not for his generosity.

In the latest mention of him, however, in the epistles, the same feature appears once more. In 1 Cor. ix. 1-7, St. Paul writes as follows: "Or I only and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear working?" Thus, after twenty years and more, we have a parting glimpse of this eminent servant of Christ, and he is still conspicuous for the same excellent grace of generosity, which marked him from the beginning. He appears, first, as a signal pattern of self-sacrifice, in parting with his landed possessions for Christ: and the last mention of him shows that, like St. Paul himself, he alone forbore his just claim to be supported by his converts, and chose rather to "labour, working with his own hands." This is a harmony, plainly undesigned, a unity of moral character, which speaks not only to the judgment, but to the heart.

No. XXIII.

Acts xv. 37, 38. "And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark. But Paul thought it not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other."

The history here records a temporary distrust and rejection of Mark, on the part of the apostle. No account is afterwards given of their reconciliation. Yet we find, from Philem. 23, 24, that Mark then held a high place among the apostle's fellow-labourers at Rome. "There salute thee Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus; Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellowlabourers." And again, in 2 Tim. iv. 11, we have still clearer proof of the high esteem in which he was held by St. Paul, just before his death. "Only Luke is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the ministry."

How, then, shall we reconcile this seeming discrepancy? Let us turn to Col. iv. 10, and we shall see that a previous reconciliation had occurred, and that the apostle had formally notified his esteem for the evangelist to some of the Asiatic churches. "Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you; and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, (*touching whom ye received commandments: if he come unto you, receive him.*)"

Here we have a very clear, though indirect coincidence. For the epistles make no mention of the dispute with Barnabas, or of the circumstances which made such a special charge necessary; while the history is silent about the relation of Mark to Barnabas, his reconciliation to the apostle, or any charge respecting him to the eastern churches.

No. XXIV.

Acts xv. 40. "And Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by the brethren unto the grace of God."

An able and ingenious writer* has lately started the hypothesis that Silas and Luke are only two names of the same person. This opinion must be sifted, before the force of the present and the following coincidence can be fully perceived.

The reasons urged are these. There is nothing to warrant the supposition that a new companion joined St. Paul at Troas. The resolve to go into Macedonia bears a relation to the previous purpose, to visit Bithynia, and must be understood of the same parties. And besides, if the writer first joined the apostle at Troas, this would not warrant him in speaking of himself as Divinely called to preach the gospel. The only persons to whom this could apply were Paul and Silas, who had been specially recommended by the brethren

* Lit. Hist. New Test.

to the grace of God for that very work. Accordingly, in the epistles to Macedonia, only Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus are joined in the salutation; while the writer of the history would not have been omitted, if really a different person. Silas parted from St. Paul at Berea, and during the interval, till he rejoined at Corinth, the first person is not used. Leaving him at Corinth, Paul went to Jerusalem, and did not rejoin him till his next visit to Corinth, whence they proceeded to Philippi, and embarked for Troas. The resemblance of the names is urged also, Silas or Silvanus, from *silva*, a wood; and Lucas or Lucanus, from *lucus*, a grove; being of the same meaning and formation.

The following remarks appear, very decisively, to disprove this novel theory:—

First, the writer describes himself to have been the constant companion of the apostle throughout the nine latest chapters of the history; yet the name, Silas, never once appears, and he indicates his presence only by using the first instead of the third person. We may safely infer, by every rule of natural induction, that he follows the same practice in the earlier chapters.

Next, the two proofs of identity alleged above are both of them nugatory and deceptive. A Divine call to accompany Paul and Silas might be given in many ways, though the writer, observing his usual modesty, has not paused to acquaint us with the details. He might have come from Antioch, by a special intimation of the Spirit, to join them on their leaving Galatia, or he might have been already at Troas, and the apostle have been directed to take him for a companion, as he had done before with Timothy. Again, the absence of his name in the two letters to Thessalonica is no proof whatever of his identity with Silas, since the history, by its use of the pronoun, implies clearly that he stayed at Philippi. How then could his name appear in the superscription to the Thessalonians?

Thirdly, on this hypothesis, Luke or Silas was at Corinth when both letters to that church were written, and during the whole stay of Apollos. But this is refuted by the entire silence of both letters on the subject, and the absence of any allusion, however slight, to these long continued labours among them, apart from the apostle. His name is introduced once only as a companion of St. Paul in his first visit. This

fact is a clear proof that Silas did not remain at Corinth, as the hypothesis requires.

But there is another reason equally decisive. Silas or Silvanus having taken part with St. Paul from the first in preaching the gospel is joined with him in the superscription, and naturally takes precedence of Timothy. This occurs in three places, wherever Silas is mentioned in the epistles, 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19. But whenever Luke is named in the epistles, though Timothy is twice named in the superscription of the same letters, the name of the evangelist appears only in the salutations at the close. No contrast could more plainly denote the entire distinctness of these two persons whom it has been sought, hastily and unwisely, to confound together. And indeed the use of two names, so entirely distinct, for the same person, in compositions so exactly similar as the letters are to each other, is of itself highly improbable. It would turn the passages into an enigma of the most useless and perplexing kind. That Luke, then, is a different person from Silas or Silvanus, as it has been the constant opinion of the church, may also be viewed as capable of a strict internal demonstration.

No. XXV.

Acts xvi. 10. "And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them."

Here the writer of the history, by the change of persons, first indicates his own presence as a companion of the apostle. It is well known that this book of Acts, as well as the third Gospel, are ascribed to St. Luke by the universal tradition of the church; but it seems never to have been shown that the same conclusion may be reached, simply and rigidly, by the internal evidence alone. If this can be done, it may fairly be reckoned among the most curious examples of undesigned coincidence.

The writer then, so far as we can learn from the history, was present with the apostle from Troas to Philippi in his first visit to Europe; was absent from him, or not distinctly present, after his departure from Philippi, during his double stay at Corinth and Ephesus; and having joined him at Philippi, again continued his companion during his voyage

from Greece to Palestine, his imprisonment at Cæsarea, his second voyage, and at least the earlier part of his imprisonment at Rome.

None of St. Paul's letters, we have seen already, were written until his arrival at Corinth, when the first separation had taken place. Six of them, the first and second to Thessalonica, the Epistle to the Galatians, the first and second to Corinth, and the Epistle to the Romans, were written during the interval of the writer's apparent absence. His name could not then be expected to occur in these letters among the friends who were present with St. Paul, and who joined in the salutations.

Four other letters, to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians were written during the first imprisonment at Rome. Now since the writer had been a companion of the apostle for three whole years before that imprisonment, had attended him on the voyage with only one or two others, and had continued with him till his arrival at Rome, it is most improbable that he would leave him at once, and not cheer him by his presence and friendship, as in the previous long delay at Cæsarea. In these letters, therefore, if the helpers present with St. Paul are at all mentioned, his name will be likely to appear. And since he had been so intimate a companion, and attended him faithfully so long, it seems almost certain that the apostle, if he specified his chief helpers and friends who were with him, could not omit one so conspicuous. The writer, we may thus infer, was either Tychicus, Timothy, Epaphroditus, Epaphras, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus, Jesus Justus, Luke, or Demas, the only persons whose names appear in the salutations of these four letters.

But this choice is soon reduced within narrower limits. Timothy, Tychicus, and Aristarchus could none of them be the writer, since they accompanied Paul and himself on the voyage from Greece (Acts xx. 4, 5). Onesimus is excluded, since he was converted by St. Paul during his imprisonment at Rome (Philem. 10). Mark is also excluded, since he is mentioned repeatedly in the history, and was rejected by St. Paul as a companion in that very journey, in which the writer soon afterwards joined him. Epaphroditus clearly was not with the apostle when the imprisonment began, but was sent to him from Philippi when they heard tidings of his necessities. Epaphras appears to have been a local pastor from

Colosse, who arrived also at Rome after the imprisonment there had begun. Thus Jesus Justus, Luke, and Demas are the only three names which are not absolutely excluded by these texts.

That Jesus Justus was not the writer may be gathered from two presumptions of considerable weight. First, he was of the circumcision, or a Jew by birth; while several indications in the book of Acts lead us to suppose that the writer was a Greek, and only a proselyte, rather than a native Jew. The title, barbarians, applied to the people of Miletus, is one token of the fact, and there seem to be others. And next, Jesus Justus is named only once, while the two others are mentioned three times in these epistles. Now the companion of the apostle for so many years, and through so many dangers, would not be likely to be left thus entirely in the background, compared with others.

The choice will now be confined to Luke and Demas, each of whom is mentioned three times, and always near together. In the last instance, however, there occurs a remarkable contrast. In his second imprisonment, as we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 10, 11, Demas forsook the apostle through love of the world, and only Luke continued with him, while every other helper was absent. It would be a high degree of moral incongruity to suppose that this apostate, whether his apostasy were temporary or final, and not the companion who was faithful to the last, was the same with the faithful companion during shipwreck and imprisonment, and the honoured writer of two main books of the sacred canon. And thus, by internal evidence alone, we are led to the conclusion that Luke, and no other, was the real author of the Gospel and the book of Acts. The circumstantial evidence limits our choice to three names, while the moral evidence, hardly less forcible, confines it among these to St. Luke only.

Nothing can be more indirect and circuitous than this train of reasoning. The coincidence of the result thus obtained, with the unbroken testimony of external tradition, is a proof of reality of the most complete and unsuspecting kind. Like the agreement between the independent determinations of the velocity of light from phenomena totally distinct, the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, and sidereal aberration, it forms the most convincing evidence, that the tradition is accurate, and the letters and the history alike genuine.

BOOK III.

THE APPLICATION TO THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

Introduction.

THE extension of the argument from undesigned coincidence to the four gospels is attended with some difficulty, arising from their peculiar character. When a history is compared with a series of letters, or with another narrative, widely different in its general outline, the points of agreement will usually speak for themselves, and often exclude all suspicion of being the result of design. In the present instance, however, we have four narratives, very similar in plan and purpose, which relate the same biography, and to a great extent record the same incidents, and were probably written by persons mutually acquainted, at no very great interval of time. Hence it becomes more difficult, where they coincide, to prove that the coincidence is spontaneous, and where they seem to differ, that the diversity is not a real contradiction. If they agree closely, they may be charged with merely copying one another; and if they diverge considerably, they are exposed to the opposite charge, that their statements are historically false, and mutually disproved. Indeed this has of late been the chosen battle-field of infidelity. It has been maintained that the gospels are late in their origin, and inconsistent in their testimony, and that they merely embody vague, floating ideas of the Messiah, which were prevalent in the early church, and are a series of mystical traditions rather than genuine histories.

To unfold thoroughly the evidence which the gospels supply, in refutation of this wild and senseless theory, would require a distinct work, and an inquiry into many questions which have exercised critics and harmonists down to the present day. Meanwhile, apart from this deeper investigation, the argument in the *Horæ Paulinæ* admits, within narrower limits, of a useful and important application to the gospel history. For every part of the New Testament, of which the authenticity is clearly established, serves to reflect a part of its own evidence on all the rest. The epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles, will thus authenticate many leading events which are narrated in the gospels. There will also be found, on comparing the gospels among themselves, or with the rest of the New Testament, several coincidences like those in the

letters of St. Paul, which are independent of questions fairly disputable, and are clear indications of their genuineness. The present book, therefore, will aim at establishing these three propositions.

I. That the epistles of St. Paul, which are proved to be genuine by their internal evidence, authenticate many leading facts in the four gospels.

II. That the book of Acts, which is also proved to be an authentic narrative by the same argument, authenticates the same facts, with several others, also contained in the gospel narratives.

III. That while the main outline of the gospels is thus confirmed by the Acts and epistles, they exhibit, on comparison, many undesigned coincidences, which can arise only from their historical truth and reality.

One chapter will now be occupied with each of these propositions.

CHAPTER I.

THE TESTIMONY OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

THE letters of St. Paul, it results from the copious evidence already adduced, were actually addressed to the churches and individuals whose names they bear, between the apostle's entrance into Europe and the time of his death. The date of the earliest may be placed about twenty two, and that of the latest about thirty-six years after the crucifixion. And since their main object is to enforce the great facts, the doctrines, and the duties of Christianity, their testimony with regard to the facts of the gospel history must be of the highest importance. It is a pledge to us of the opinions which prevailed among many thousands of Christians, within thirty years from the close of our Lord's ministry. It will be convenient to present the testimony of these epistles in the order of time.

No. I.

The two epistles to the Thessalonians were written from Corinth, and probably about twenty-two years after the date of the crucifixion. We gain from them the following leading facts concerning the history of our Lord.

First, the resurrection of Jesus from the dead was un-

doubtedly believed by the apostle and the Christians of Thessalonica.

1 Thess. i. 9, 10. "For they themselves show of us what entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come."

The mention of the fact, as in a parenthesis, shows clearly with what unhesitating faith it was held by the writer, and the Christians to whom he wrote.

The same letter affirms, though indirectly as before, that the Lord Jesus had suffered a violent death by the malice of his own countrymen, the Jews.

1 Thess. ii. 14, 15. "For ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews: who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men."

The persecution and violent death of the Lord Jesus is here placed between two similar events; the persecution of the Jewish prophets, and the actual sufferings of the apostles, as equally historical and equally notorious.

Again, these two facts are brought together, as the common foundation of the hope of all Christians.

1 Thess. iv. 13, 14. "But I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."

And again, 1 Thess. v. 9, 10. "For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him."

We have thus a distinct and repeated testimony, alike to the death and resurrection of Jesus, in this earliest epistle, almost within twenty years from the time when they occurred.

No. II.

The Epistle to the Galatians was written, it seems most probable, about a year later than those to Thessalonica, or twenty-three years after the crucifixion. Its testimony is of great importance.

First, the apostle asserts, in the most solemn manner, that he had seen the Lord Jesus after the resurrection, that he was thus made a convert to the faith, and was commissioned to preach the gospel to the heathen.

Gal. i. 1. "Paul an apostle, (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead;) and all the brethren which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia."

Ver. 11, 12. "But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

It is repeatedly affirmed, in the same letter, that our Lord's death was by crucifixion, and that this fact was one stumbling-block, which repelled many from receiving the gospel.

Gal. ii. 20. "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

Ch. iii. 1. "O foolish Galatians . . . before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you!"

Ch. iii. 13. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree."

Ch. v. 24. "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."

Ch. v. 11. "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross ceased."

Ch. vi. 12. "As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ."

Ch. vi. 14. "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

We are taught, further, that James, Cephas, and John were the names of three chief apostles, and that St. Paul had intercourse with the two former at Jerusalem, only three years after his conversion, or probably not more than ten years after the crucifixion, and that they all agreed in preaching the same gospel.

Gal. i. 18, 19. "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother. Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not."

Ch. ii. 9. "And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision."

It is further stated that our Lord was born of a human mother, while his pre-existence as the Son of God, is also evidently affirmed.

Gal. iv. 4, 5. "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law; to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons."

It is further implied that the apostle, in the exercise of his office, was known to have wrought miracles, and to have conferred miraculous gifts, among these churches of Galatia.

Gal. iii. 2, 5. "This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? . . . He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"

There seems no doubt that the above is the true version, and that the writer refers to his own history while among them. The indirect nature of the assertion renders the testimony doubly important. In a series of condensed and earnest reasoning, the fact in question, that he had wrought miracles among them, is assumed as perfectly notorious, as well as the kindred fact, that they had received spiritual gifts at his hands.

The pre-existence of the Lord Jesus, his birth, his crucifixion, and his resurrection; the appointment of several apostles, including James, Cephas, and John; the miraculous appearance to St. Paul, his conversion, his intercourse with two of his brother apostles, and his exercise of miraculous powers, through the name of Jesus, are thus all attested within twenty-three or four years after the crucifixion occurred; and attested as matters of general notoriety among all Christians.

No. III.

The first Epistle to the Corinthians was written from Ephesus, and probably twenty-seven years from the time of our Lord's crucifixion. It yields a full and varied testimony to the great facts of the gospel history.

First, the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus is affirmed or implied in four or five places, and his death in several others; 1 Cor. i. 13, 17, 18, 23; ii. 2, 8; v. 7; viii. 11; xi. 26; xv. 3. But other particulars are also given, that he was betrayed to his enemies, and the same night instituted the Lord's supper, in virtue of which institution it was observed in all the churches.

1 Cor. xi. 23. "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. . . . For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

Again, we have here, within twenty-seven years from the resurrection, a very full statement of the evidence by which it was proved, with the important fact that several hundreds of the witnesses of it were still alive.

1 Cor. xv. 3-8. "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles. And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time."

Here St. Paul not only affirms that the resurrection of Jesus was the foundation of Christianity, that it was preached alike by all the apostles, and firmly believed by all Christians, but he also states the distinct appearances which proved its reality. He includes himself last in order, among its eye witnesses. He specifies five other distinct appearances of Christ after his resurrection, one of which is not mentioned in the gospels, and therefore proves that the accounts are

independent and unborrowed. What is still more important, he affirms that, in the third of these five appearances, more than five hundred witnesses were present, of whom the greater part were still actually alive. And this is in full agreement, after such an interval, with the natural result, as deduced from the best tables of mortality. Supposing the age of these witnesses to range from twenty to fifty years, three-fifths of the whole number would probably survive after twenty-seven years.

It may be inferred, from the same epistle, that our Lord's death took place at the time of the Jewish passover. Only on this view would the passage seem appropriate, in the ears of those who knew that the time of celebration was an essential part of the ordinance. "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast."

We are further taught, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, that St. Paul had seen the Lord after the resurrection, and had been commissioned by him to preach the gospel; and that Cephas and certain brethren of the Lord were included among the original apostles, with the further circumstance, that they were married men.

1 Cor. ix. 1, 5. "Am I not an apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord? . . . Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?"

It is also clearly affirmed that the apostle had miraculous gifts, and that these were very frequent in the church of Corinth, and in other places.

1 Cor. xii. 28. "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; after that miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret? But covet earnestly the best gifts: and yet show I unto you a more excellent way."

Ch. xiv. 18, 19. "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all. Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue."

Here the indirect manner in which these gifts are mentioned.

and the whole character of the context, becomes a clear sign and pledge of their actual reality.

No. IV.

The second Epistle to the Corinthians was written only a few months later than the first. The facts of the crucifixion and resurrection are affirmed, here also, with equal plainness.

2 Cor. iv. 10. "Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our body."

Ch. v. 15. "And he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again."

Ch. xiii. 4. "For though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God. For we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him by the power of God towards you."

The pre-existence of Christ in glory, with his actual poverty during his life on earth, are also evidently asserted in the same letter.

2 Cor. viii. 9. "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich."

The apostle also asserts plainly his own repeated experience of supernatural visions, and frequent exercise of miraculous powers.

2 Cor. xii. 7. "And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure."

Ver. 12. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds."

No. V.

The Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth, a few months after the second letter had been addressed to that church, or within twenty-eight years from the crucifixion. The death of our Lord, though not the precise manner of his death, and his resurrection, are repeatedly asserted as before, Rom. i. 4; iii. 25; iv. 24, 25; v. 8; vi. 4, 5, 8-11; vii. 4; viii. 3, 11, 32; x. 7, 9; xiv. 9, 15. In one place, however, it is plainly implied that his death was by crucifixion.

Rom. vi. 6. "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin."

It is further taught that our Lord was of Jewish descent, and of the race of David; that his life was one of great suffering, and of sinless obedience; and that he was specially sent to the Jewish nation, as an apostle or preacher of righteousness; and that he endured great reproach in the exercise of this Divine commission.

Rom. ix. 5. "Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

Ch. i. 3, 4. "Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by resurrection from the dead."

Ch. viii. 17. "If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together."

Ch. v. 18, 19. "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

Ch. xv. 8. "Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers."

Ch. xv. 3. "For even Christ pleased not himself, but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me."

The apostle affirms, also, in this epistle, his own exercise of miraculous powers, derived from Christ, and extending through a wide circuit of apostolic labour, from Jerusalem to Illyrium.

Ch. xv. 17-19. "I have therefore whereof I may glory through Jesus Christ in those things which pertain to God. For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders by the power of the Spirit of God; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ."

This attestation is doubly important, when we remember that the letter was written from Corinth, with the salutations of several Corinthians, and that he had addressed a letter a few months before to that church, where he makes the same appeal to miracles, and these, wrought in the midst of them. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds."

No. VI.

The Epistle to the Ephesians, the first of those from Rome, bears testimony to the same general facts, of the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord Jesus, and adds the further statement, that the gifts bestowed on the apostles and prophets of the church were a direct consequence of his ascension. All these facts appear in the most indirect manner.

Eph. i. 19, 20. "According to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places."

Ch. i. 7. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins."

Ch. ii. 16. "And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby."

Ch. iv. 9, 10. ("Now that he ascended, what is it, but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up, far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers."

Ch. v. 2. "Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour."

The same facts appear also in the Epistle to the Colossians, with a further allusion to our Lord's circumcision, his burial, and the sufferings he had to endure.

Col. i. 14. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins."

Ch. i. 18-20. "Who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence. For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself."

Ch. i. 23, 24. "Whereof I Paul am made a minister; who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church."

Ch. ii. 11, 12. "In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ: buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead."

Ch. iii. 1. "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God."

In the Epistle to the Philippians, the same facts are proclaimed with equal clearness.

Ch. ii. 5-11. "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

We have here the view respecting the person of Jesus, his life, death, and resurrection, which was familiar to Christians, both in Greece and Italy, within thirty-three years from the time when that death occurred. The facts are supposed to be so certainly known, that they may be assumed at once in the forefront of every practical exhortation.

No. VII.

The remaining epistles, which may be placed from thirty-three to thirty-six years after the crucifixion, still assume everywhere the truth of the leading facts in the Gospel, with a few additional particulars.

First, that our Lord was of the race of Abraham, and of the royal tribe of Judah.

Heb. ii. 16. "For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham."

Ch. vii. 14. "For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood."

Secondly, that he took upon him our nature, and thence was exposed to temptation, while he maintained a perfect obedience.

Ch. ii. 14, 18. "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death. . . . For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted."

Ch. iv. 15. He "was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

Ch. v. 8. "Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered."

That, while on earth, he offered up earnest prayers to God.

Ch. v. 7. "Who in the days of his flesh . . . offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death."

That, after becoming a sacrifice for sins, he entered into heaven.

Ch. ix. 27, 28. "As it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation."

That the scene of his death lay without the gate of Jerusalem.

Ch. xiii. 11, 12. "For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate."

That he made an open declaration of his kingly authority before Pontius Pilate.

1 Tim. vi. 13. "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession." It is plain, from the context, that this confession related to the character of our Lord, as a true and rightful king.

No. VIII.

From a review of this various evidence, it appears that the

following main elements of the gospel history are all confirmed by the direct and indirect testimony of the Pauline epistles. The apostle, in the first place, had seen the Lord Jesus after the resurrection, and received from him a direct commission to the Gentiles (Gal. i. 1, 2, 11, 12; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 7, 8; Eph. iii. 2, 3; 1 Tim. i. 11-13; ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 10, 11). He affirms the resurrection, as the universal belief of the church, proclaimed by all the apostles, and confirmed, after nearly thirty years, by hundreds of living eye-witnesses (1 Thess. i. 9, 10; iv. 14; 1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 10, 11, 14; v. 14, 15; xiii. 3, 4; Rom. i. 3; iv. 23-25; v. 10; vi. 4, 8, 9; Eph. i. 18-21; ii. 4, 5; Col. i. 18; Phil. iii. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 9-11; Heb. ii. 2, 3). He states that our Lord was born of a human mother, of the tribe of Judah, and the race of David (Rom. i. 3; ix. 4, 5; xv. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 8; Heb. vii. 14; Gal. iv. 4; Heb. vii. 1-3); that he was circumcised, and obedient to the law of Moses (Col. ii. 11, 12; Rom. v. 19; viii. 3; Heb. iv. 15; Phil. ii. 8); that he endured reproach, temptation, and suffering (Rom. xv. 3; 2 Cor. i. 5; Col. i. 24; Heb. xii. 3; ii. 18; iv. 15); that he was betrayed, and the same night instituted the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23-26); that he was crucified, dead and buried (Gal. ii. 20; iii. 1, 13; v. 24; vi. 14; 1 Cor. i. 13, 17, 18, 23; ii. 2, 7, 8; xiii. 4; Rom. vi. 6; Eph. ii. 15, 16; Phil. ii. 8; iii. 18; Heb. xii. 2; 1 Cor. xv. 4; Col. ii. 12; Rom. vi. 4); that he suffered without the gate of Jerusalem (Heb. xiii. 12); that he offered fervent prayers, and underwent a bloody agony, before his death (Heb. v. 7; xii. 2-4); that his resurrection took place on the third day (1 Cor. xv. 4); that he ascended afterwards into heaven (Rom. viii. 34; Eph. i. 19, 20; iv. 8-10; Col. iii. 1; Phil. ii. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. viii. 1; ix. 24); that he appeared after his resurrection, at least five times, and to more than five hundred witnesses (1 Cor. xv. 5-7); that he appointed twelve apostles, to be messengers of the gospel (1 Cor. iv. 9; ix. 5; xii. 28; 2 Cor. xi. 5; Gal. i. 17; xii. 11, 12; 1 Cor. xv. 5, 7; Eph. ii. 20); and that James, Cephas, and John were three of the most eminent (1 Cor. xv. 5, 7; Gal. ii. 9, 11, 12); and that these apostles, as well as St. Paul himself, were endued with miraculous powers, exercised in the name of the Lord Jesus (Heb. ii. 3, 4; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; xiv. 18; 2 Cor. xii. 11, 12; Gal. ii. 8; Rom. xv. 18, 19.)

It has of late been objected to the Gospel history, by philosophical unbelievers, that the epistles are silent respecting the miracles of our Lord, and thus are negative witnesses against them. The objection betokens either great blindness, or utter insincerity. The epistles not only affirm, in more than fifty passages, the crowning miracles of our Lord's resurrection and ascension, but repeatedly assert, as a notorious fact, the actual exercise of miraculous powers, by St. Paul himself and the other apostles, and even by many Christians far less distinguished in the churches. This is taught in both letters to Corinth, and in those to the Galatians, the Romans, the Ephesians, and Colossians. Hence not even our Lord's resurrection is more plainly a part of the apostle's faith, than this actual presence of miraculous powers in the church. And it is equally plain that all these gifts and miracles are directly ascribed to the risen Saviour, as their true and secret author. Finally, it is declared that miracles were the signs of an apostle (2 Cor. xii. 12), while this very title of apostle is directly applied to the Lord Jesus (Heb. iii. 1). And hence, combining these particulars, it is as clear and certain that St. Paul recognised the fact, that miracles were wrought by the Lord Jesus during the course of his ministry in Palestine, as if he had stated his conviction in the most explicit form.

CHAPTER II.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE BOOK OF ACTS.

THE book of Acts, from its own internal evidence and a comparison with the epistles of St. Paul, has been shown already to be a faithful history, and in all its later chapters the production of an eye-witness. As a direct narrative, commencing more than twenty years earlier than the first of St. Paul's letters, we might reasonably expect that it would furnish more copious information on the facts of the Gospel history. Such we find to be the case on actual investigation. It remains now to examine the amount of evidence thus obtained before we trace the internal coincidence of the gospels themselves. It will be convenient to arrange the whole under distinct articles as before.

No. I.

First, the book of Acts confirms fully the assertion in the

letters that St. Paul had personally seen the Lord Jesus after the resurrection, and all the other hints relative to his conversion and apostleship, while it adds more copious details of the place, time, and circumstances of these events.

There are three passages where these facts are stated in the history; once in the direct narrative (ix. 1-20); once in the defence before the Jews (xxii. 1-21); and a third time before Festus and Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 1-23. These passages may suggest a few general remarks.

1. The apostle asserts in the letters that he had seen the Lord Jesus, 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 3-8. This fact appears also in each of the above passages, but with many specific details; that he was on a journey to Damascus, and drew near to the city, that this first vision occurred at noon-day, that it was followed by a blindness of three days, that his companions saw the light and heard a voice, but did not see the person or distinguish the words of the Lord Jesus, and that the message was given in the Hebrew tongue,—“Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?”

2. The apostle states in the letters that he had been previously “a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious.” The same truth appears in the history, but with fuller details; that his acts of persecution began at the death of Stephen, when he kept the raiment of them that slew him; that they were exercised first at Jerusalem towards women as well as men; that they extended afterwards to the other cities of Judæa, and at length, that he persecuted them even to foreign cities, and his zeal led him to procure letters from the high priest for Damascus, where the vision occurred.

3. The apostle affirms in his letters that the Lord Jesus himself constituted him an apostle to the Gentiles. And this is taught with equal plainness in the defence before Agrippa, and also in the defence at Jerusalem. But the history shows us further that this commission was twice given, once at the time of his conversion, and again in the temple at Jerusalem, xxvi. 16-18; xxii. 17-21.

4. St. Paul affirms in the letters that the other apostles bore the same witness as himself to the resurrection of Jesus, of which they had been eye-witnesses much earlier, 1 Cor. xv. 3-11. The same statement is given by him, according to the history, in his discourse at Antioch, “But God raised him from the dead: and he was seen many days of them which

came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people."

5. St. Paul in the letters affirms that he had repeated visions or revelations of the risen Saviour. The history repeats the statement with specific details. Four such visions are recorded in the course of the narrative; the first at his conversion, a second in the temple at Jerusalem on his first visit, a third during his stay at Corinth, and a fourth soon after his imprisonment at Jerusalem.

6. St. Paul in the letters asserts his own exercise of miraculous powers. The narrative asserts the same fact, but with more specific details. The letters affirm them to have been exercised in Galatia and at Corinth, and in the region round about unto Illyricum. The history, as if to show that it was no artificial accordance, does not specify any miracles either in Galatia, in Greece, or at Corinth. On the other hand, it gives specific details of blindness inflicted on Elymas at Paphos; of the cure of the impotent man at Lystra, with signs and wonders at Iconium; of various miracles at Ephesus, both of cures and dispossessions; of the recovery of Eutychus at Troas; of the vision of an angel during the voyage; of immunity from the poison of serpents at Melita, and of other miraculous cures of disease, wrought during the presence and under the eye of the historian. Thus all the statements of the epistles are confirmed by the narrative, and ampler details are given.

No. II.

The narrative agrees with the epistles in representing the resurrection of the Lord Jesus as the foundation of the church, and the subject of distinct testimony by the apostles before Saul's conversion, and from the very year and month of its occurrence.

First, in the choice of a new apostle in the place of Judas, this is mentioned to have been the very purpose of the appointment. "Of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, . . . must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."

Next, it is a main subject of the first discourse of Peter on the day of Pentecost. "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death: because it was not possible that he

should be holden of it.—He, seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses.”

In the second discourse, on the healing of the cripple in the temple, this testimony is equally prominent. “But ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses. . . Unto you first God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.”

This truth appears again in the defence before the council. “By the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead even by him doth this man stand here before you whole.”

It appears again in the summary of the apostolic teaching after their dismissal. “And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all.”

Once more, it appears in the second defence before the Sadducees, the great deniers of the resurrection. “The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour.”

Last of all, it appears in the words of Stephen, in the very hour of his death. “Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.”

It is needless to continue the quotations further, as they now become contemporary with St. Paul’s own testimony, whose conversion is related soon after.

No. III.

The history, like the letters, affirms that Jesus was born of the seed of David; but it also states that his mother survived the time of the resurrection, while it never alludes to any earthly father, and thus agrees with the view implied in the letters, and distinctly taught in the gospels, of his miraculous birth from a virgin mother.

Acts i. 14. “These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.”

Ch. ii. 30. "Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he (David) seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ. . . This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses."

Ch. xiii. 22, 23. "And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king. . . Of this man's seed hath God according to his promise raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus."

No. IV.

In the history we are further taught that the home of Jesus was at Nazareth, that his teaching was mainly in Galilee, and that it was preceded by the ministry of John the Baptist, his forerunner.

The name, Jesus of Nazareth, occurs six times in the history (ii. 22; iii. 6; iv. 10; vi. 14; xxii. 8; xxvi. 9). The first and third instances are found in the discourses of Peter on the day of Pentecost, and before the Sanhedrim; the second in the cure of the impotent man at the gate of the temple; the fourth in the accusation against Stephen; and the two others in the discourses of St. Paul, first before the Jews, and afterwards before Festus and Agrippa. The same fact appears in another form in the words of Tertullus, when he styles the apostle "a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes."

That the apostles were Galilæans is taught by the language ascribed to the angels at the ascension, and of the Jews on the day of Pentecost. And that the teaching of Jesus was chiefly in Galilee appears from the words of Peter to Cornelius (Acts x. 37).

That our Lord was preceded by John the Baptist as his forerunner is no where affirmed by the historian in his own person, except in chap. xviii. 25, where he says of Apollos, that "he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John." Yet it is remarkable in how many ways the same truth is indirectly affirmed. First, in the parting promise of Christ: "For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." Next, in the rule prescribed by Peter for the choice of an apostle: "Beginning from the baptism of John . . . must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his

resurrection." Thirdly, in the discourse to Cornelius: "That word ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached." Fourthly, in the speech of Paul in the synagogue at Antioch: "When John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel." It is here even joined with some particulars of John's teaching: "And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not he. But, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose." Fifthly, in his conversation with the disciples at Ephesus: "Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus."

No. V.

The history not only implies in every part, but openly asserts in two passages, that the Lord Jesus wrought many miracles during his ministry before his resurrection.

The first statement is found in the discourse of Peter on the day of Pentecost: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." There is here a double assertion, not only of the fact itself but that it was public and notorious.

The next is in the address to Cornelius: "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem."

That only two such passages are found in the whole history, although these miracles are evidently presupposed in every part, is another mark of reality. While signs and wonders were wrought continually by the apostles themselves, and the resurrection was the distinguishing glory of the Lord Jesus, and the communication of these miraculous powers to his followers, rather than their personal exercise, it is natural that his own miracles should be mentioned only in such an historical review as Peter gave to Cornelius, or to the multitudes at Jerusalem. Now the epistles contain no example of such

a historical retrospect of events earlier than the crucifixion and the last supper, and hence it is quite natural that no such express averment should be found in them. Yet the fact of these miracles is plainly implied in every part of the history, as well as of the letters, since the miracles of the apostles themselves are said to be wrought, not by their own power, but by the power and in the name of the Lord Jesus.

No. VI.

The book of Acts agrees with the epistles in fixing the number of the apostles at twelve, and in assigning a priority to three of the number, Peter, James, and John. For though the elder James has the second place in the list, given at first, it is plain that after his death the other James is the only one, besides Peter and John, who is named at all in the history. But besides this entire agreement with the conclusions brought us by the letters, the history proceeds further, and gives us the names and order of all the twelve, in entire harmony with the three earlier gospels.

Acts i. 13. "And when they were come in, they went up into an upper chamber, where both Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphæus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James."

Ver. 17. "For he (Judas, who was guide to them that took Jesus) was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry."

The history teaches us further, that these twelve had accompanied with Jesus from the very time of John the Baptist's ministry. The gospels affirm this plainly of six out of the whole number, and place the ordination of the whole number before the time of the Baptist's death.

No. VII.

The book of Acts affirms many other particulars respecting our Lord, which are contained in the four gospels, and form together a main element of the Gospel history.

1st. That our Lord appeared repeatedly after his resurrection, through a space of forty days, and ate and drank with the apostles, Acts i. 3, 4; x. 41; xiii. 31. Indeed the length of this interval is specified here only; but the gospels evidently require one of three weeks at the least.

2nd. That our Lord ascended from the neighbourhood of Bethany; or some part of the Mount of Olives, and was taken up into heaven, Acts i. 9—12.

3rd. That several women, including the mother of Jesus, had accompanied our Lord from Galilee to Jerusalem, Acts i. 14; xiii. 31.

4th. That Judas, one of the twelve, betrayed the Lord Jesus, and was a guide to those who took him, and died soon after in remorse by a violent death, so that a well-known field at Jerusalem derived its name from the event, and was called, "The field of blood," Acts i. 16, 19.

5th. That our Lord's death was at or near the time of the Jewish passover. This appears from the history by plain inference; for we are told that our Lord rose the third day, that he was seen forty days by the apostles, that the baptism of the Spirit was to be not many days after his ascension, and that it took place on the day of Pentecost. Assuming ten days for the interval, which is indeterminate, the death of our Lord would fall on the very day of the passover.

6th. That Pilate had determined to release Jesus, and was only prevented from so doing by the hatred and obstinacy of the Jewish rulers, Acts iii. 13. That, while they publicly rejected Christ, they desired as a favour the acquittal of a murderer in his stead, ver. 14.

7th. That not only Pilate, but also Herod, and Jews and Gentiles alike, had some active share in the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus, Acts iv. 27.

8th. That our Lord rose again the third day, and appeared afterwards, not to all the people, but only to chosen witnesses, and especially to the apostles, Acts x. 40, 41.

9th. That our Lord, before he ascended, promised to send down the Spirit upon his followers before they left Jerusalem, Acts xi. 16.

10th. That the Pharisees and the Sadducees were the two leading sects among the Jews, of whom the Sadducees denied a resurrection, while the Pharisees and the great body of the nation fully believed in it, Acts xxiii. 7, 8; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 6, 7.

11th. That it was predicted of the Christ that he would suffer death, and be the first to rise from the dead, and afterwards become a light of the Gentile nations, Acts xxvi. 23.

No. VIII.

There are a few general remarks, which are naturally suggested by this review of the testimony contained in the book of Acts to the gospel history.

And first, nearly all the facts which the epistles announce respecting our Lord's personal history are confirmed by the book of Acts; while not one contradiction, even in appearance, exists between them.

Secondly, since it is a direct narrative, and mounts twenty years higher than the letters, as far back as to the time of the ascension, the book of Acts reveals many other particulars which do not appear in the letters. Such are the names of the other nine apostles, besides Peter, James, and John, the interval from the resurrection to the ascension, the name of our Lord's mother, his residence at Nazareth, the baptism of John, and the continuance of his disciples more than twenty years after the crucifixion, the treachery of Judas and his fearful end, the concurrence of Herod and Pilate in our Lord's death, the desire of Pilate for his release and the opposition of the Jews, the scene of the ascension, and the conversation of Christ with the apostles after his resurrection.

Thirdly, all these facts, which are contained in the book of Acts, appear again in the four gospels, but with still more copious details. There is no appearance of contradiction, although there are several points where the coincidence is only indirect. Such is the exact length of the interval from the resurrection to the ascension, the end of Judas after his treachery, and the circumstances relating to the field of blood, the exact place of the ascension, the course of our Lord's ministry, beginning in Galilee and closing at Jerusalem, and the upper room where the apostles were assembled at the day of Pentecost. There is here exactly the gradation which we should naturally expect in a direct narrative of our Lord's life, a narrative of events beginning at its close, where some retrospective allusions would be sure to occur, and a series of letters, of which the earliest is more than twenty years later, yet all of them alike based upon the certain truth of a public and notorious history.

Finally, these retrospective allusions, while they include all the main elements of the gospel history, are so imbedded in the narrative, and are presented in such various forms, that

they cannot be set aside without a rejection of the whole narrative. Some of them occur in the statements of the historian himself; but others in the discourse of Peter after the ascension, others on the day of Pentecost, others in the address to Cornelius, others in the discourse of Paul at Antioch, and others in the history of his stay at Ephesus, and others, finally, in his defence before Agrippa. The woof of Divine truth is so skilfully woven, that the attempt to get rid of one thread can only succeed by a desperate determination to sacrifice the whole. The epistles and the Acts, by mutual comparison, prove their own truth and authenticity, and then, by their joint allusions, they establish the main facts of the evangelical narrative, before we enter on the internal testimony of the gospels themselves.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL COINCIDENCE OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

THE allusions in the book of Acts and in the epistles of St. Paul, it has now been clearly shown, establish the truth of the main outlines of the Gospel history. To complete the line of reasoning adopted in the "*Horæ Paulinæ*," we should now consider the undesigned coincidences in the four gospels themselves. This inquiry, however, to be pursued thoroughly, would require a distinct work, and a full investigation of their probable dates, their mutual relations to each other, the proper mode of harmonizing their narratives, and the other main questions which have occupied harmonists and critics in every age of the church until now. In this closing chapter a few only of those coincidences will be selected which are most capable of a separate exhibition, apart from all deeper research into the order and connexion of the whole evangelical history. It will merely be assumed that the fourth gospel, of St. John, was composed later than the others, and that these were in existence before the latest epistles of St. Paul were written.

No. I.

Matt. viii. 16. "When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word, and healed all that were sick."

There is here no reason assigned why the sick were not, on this occasion, brought to Jesus until the evening. On turning, however, to the narrative in the other gospels, Mark i. 32;

Luke iv. 40, 41, this reason is apparent. We are told that on the sabbath day Jesus entered into the synagogue at Capernaum, and taught; that immediately on leaving it he entered into the house of Simon, and it was the very same evening on which this crowd of applicants for mercy were gathered at the door. Now from Matt. xii. 10, it also appears that the opinion was common among the Jews, that it was not lawful to heal on the sabbath day. We have thus a clear reason why the people waited until the evening, but one of which no trace exists in Matthew's narrative, taken alone.

No. II.

Matt. x. 2. "Now the names of the twelve apostles are these: the first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbæus, whose surname was Thaddæus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him."

In the two other gospels, the seventh and eighth names occur in a different order. Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, where the distinctive title, the publican, is also wanting. The whole list is composed of six pairs of names, the order of which seems to have been determined by the order of their call, whether to be disciples or apostles. Matthew places his own name second in the pair to which it belongs, and adds the offensive epithet, the publican. Mark and Luke, on the contrary, place his name before that of his comrade, and withhold the title which he himself has added in a feeling of humility. This minute difference is naturally explained by the modesty of the evangelist, and thus becomes a pledge for the genuineness of the whole Gospel where it appears.

No. III.

The four gospels, without any direct assertion, lead us to the same conclusion, that Joseph was dead before our Lord's ministry began. This will appear by collating the passages.

John ii. 1, 2, 12. "And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there. And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage.—After this he went down to Capernaum, he, and his mother, and his brethren, and his disciples: and they continued there not many days."

Matt. xii. 46, 48. "While he yet talked to the people, behold, his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him. Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?"

Ch. xiii. 55, 56. "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us?"

Mark iii. 31. "There came then his brethren and his mother, and standing without, sent unto him, calling him."

Ch. vi. 3. "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?"

Luke viii. 10. "Then came to him his mother and his brethren, and could not come at him for the press."

"John xix. 25. "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home."

There is thus no mention of the presence of Joseph at the feast in Cana, or the return to Capernaum, during the message of our Lord's relatives, the visit to Nazareth, or the crucifixion. All the four narratives agree, indirectly, in leading to the same conclusion, that the death of Joseph was earlier than our Lord's ministry. This agreement is unlikely to have occurred in fictitious narratives, and is therefore one mark, in the gospels, of their historical reality.

No. IV.

Matt. xiii. 2. "And great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into the ship (τὸ πλοῖον) and sat."

The meaning of the definite article in this passage is so far from being evident, that our translators have omitted it entirely. No ship has been mentioned in this context, to which it can be referred. How, then, can the peculiar expression be accounted for?

On turning to the Gospel of St. Mark, not in the parallel passage, but somewhat earlier, we meet with a simple explanation in these words: "And he spake to his disciples, that a small ship should wait on him because of the multitude, lest they should throng him," iii. 9. It is plain that this ship or boat, provided expressly for such a purpose, would be familiar to the thoughts of the apostle, and hence we may explain the force of the phrase, "he entered into the ship, and sat."

The same explanation will equally apply to Matt. xiv. 22, where the same expression recurs: "And straightway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into the ship (εἰς τὸ πλοῖον), and to go before him to the other side, while he sent the multitudes away."

This coincidence, from its very minuteness, depending merely on the insertion of the article, is so much the more unsuspecting and complete.

No. V.

In each gospel an account is given of the miracle of the five thousand. We are told also, in every case, that the disciples took up twelve baskets of fragments. Matt. xiv. 20; Mark vi. 43; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13. In every gospel, also, these baskets are termed *cophini* (δώδεκα κοφίνους πλήρεις).

The similar miracle of the four thousand is recorded only by St. Matthew and St. Mark, who state that the disciples took up seven baskets of fragments. Here, however, a different term is employed, and in each gospel the baskets are called *spyrides*, Matt. xv. 37; Mark viii. 8 (ἐπτά σφυρίδας).

Now it is remarkable that, when our Saviour rebukes his disciples, after crossing from Dalmanutha, the same distinction is accurately observed, Matt. xvi. 9, 10; Mark viii. 19, 20.

"Do ye not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets ye took up? (πόσους κοφίνους ἐλάβετε). Neither the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many baskets (σφυρίδας) ye took up?"

"When I brake the five loaves among the five thousand, how many baskets (κοφίνους) full of fragments took ye up? They say unto him, Twelve. And when the seven among four thousand, how many baskets (σφυρίδας) full of frag-

ments took ye up? And they said, Seven. And he said unto them, How is it that ye do not understand?"

From the word *σπυρίς* being used, Acts ix. 25, where Paul was let down in a basket by the wall of Damascus, it is natural to infer that it denotes baskets of a large size. The *cophini*, being twelve, might, perhaps, be the provision baskets of the apostles. But whatever was the exact nature of the distinction, the constant mention of *cophini* in reference to one miracle, and of *spyrides* in connexion with the other, is a minute and striking evidence of historical reality, and proves how the details of each event were fixed in the memory of the apostles.

No. VI.

John vi. 5. "When Jesus then lifted up his eyes, and saw a great multitude come unto him, he saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat? And this he said to prove him: for he himself knew what he would do. Philip answered him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little."

This apostle is never once named, in the first three gospels, as having any special question put to him, or taking part in the conversation of our Lord, and only once beside in the Gospel of St. John. Why should the question now be addressed to him rather than the others? The passage itself offers no key to the incident, and we might readily suppose that it was an accidental circumstance.

Let us turn to St. Luke ix. 10, where the same miracle is recorded, and we find this further circumstance mentioned, which fixes the scene of the miracle. "And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida." The miracle is then said to have been wrought at the close of that very day.

If now we turn once more to St. John's Gospel, we find in the first chapter this passing intimation, "Now Philip was of Bethsaida, from the city of Andrew and Peter." Two different prepositions are here used, one of which seems to denote the birthplace, and the other the usual abode. Hence the meaning seems to be that Philip, though a native of Capernaum, was an inhabitant of Bethsaida. It is thus explained why our Lord should address the inquiry to him rather than the others. They were in a desert place, belonging to Beth-

saida; and hence Philip was more likely than any of the rest to know where a supply of provisions might possibly be found.

One doubt, however, still remains. There were two Bethsaidas near the sea of Tiberias, some have even supposed a third. For this last opinion, however, there is no evidence, and it has arisen only from a misconstruction of this very passage. Many have thought that the scene of the miracle was Bethsaida-Julias, to the north-east of the lake. If so, the coincidence would be deceptive, since Philip belonged to Bethsaida of Galilee, John xii. 21.

There are conclusive reasons, which forbid us to place the scene in the neighbourhood of Julius. The suburbs of one of the largest cities near the lake would be ill suited for the purpose of retirement. The course of the disciples on their return is also inconsistent with such a view of the locality. They crossed over towards Bethsaida, while the route from Julius to Capernaum would not bring them near to Bethsaida of Galilee.

One easy supposition removes all difficulty, and maintains the reality of the coincidence. Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin were fishing towns on the west of the lake, and would very likely have separate districts belonging to them on the opposite side, for the convenience of the crews in their frequent short voyages across the lake. If the miracle occurred in such a district belonging to Bethsaida of Galilee, and lying opposite to it on the further side of the lake, the whole becomes consistent and natural, and the appeal to Philip, as an inhabitant of Bethsaida, and acquainted with its localities, retains its strict propriety.

No. VII.

John vi. 24. "When the people saw therefore that Jesus was not there, neither his disciples, they also took shipping, and came to Capernaum, seeking for Jesus."

The surprise of the people at not finding Jesus is easily explained, since they saw that he had not entered the ship, and no other vessel was near, until the arrival of the other boats from Tiberias, early the next morning. But why should they expect the disciples to be there, whom they had seen embark the evening before? An answer is found in St. Mark's Gospel. When Jesus came to them in the fourth watch, "he

saw them toiling in rowing; *for the wind was contrary.*" With a stormy and adverse wind, that lasted until three or four in the morning, it was very natural to suppose that the disciples would have put back again, and be found along with Jesus on the eastern shore.

No. VIII.

John xviii. 36. "Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews."

Why did not the adversaries of our Lord mention the fact, that one of his followers had really fought, and wounded a servant of the high priest? Their silence, if we consider only their eager malice, might seem unaccountable, and a kinsman of Malchus was present at the trial. But the Gospel of St. Luke solves the difficulty. As soon as the blow was struck, Jesus had said, "Suffer ye thus far: and he touched his ear, and healed him." Any reference to Peter's offence would thus have brought to light the Divine power of the Lord, as well as his innocence, and have turned to their own confusion.

But further, these words of Christ do really allude to that event, although the allusion is so delicate as to be entirely lost in the usual version; for their precise meaning, if we observe the tense of the original Greek, seems to be, "Then would my servants have gone on fighting (*ἡγωνίζοντο*), that I should not be delivered to the Jews." The form of the phrase is clearly retrospective, and the use of the imperfect, instead of the aorist, implies continuance. So that our Lord really appeals to that very act of forbearance by which he had arrested the hasty zeal of his followers, while he manifested his Divine power in healing the servant whom they had wounded. No allusion could be more delicate and unobtrusive, or afford a clearer sign of historical reality.

No. IX.

Matt. iv. 11, 12, 17. "Now when Jesus had heard that John was delivered up, he departed into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum. . . . From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

John iii. 22-24. "After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judæa; and there he tarried with

them and baptized. And John also was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there; and they came, and were baptized. For John was not yet cast into prison."

John iv. 1, 2. "When therefore the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John (though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples), he left Judæa, and departed again into Galilee."

In the "Leben Jesu," by Dr. Strauss, these passages are referred to as a pattern of those direct and positive contradictions, which prove the gospels to be mythical and not historical. "One gospel," it is said, "represents the first appearance of Jesus in Galilee as subsequent to the imprisonment of John the Baptist; whilst another remarks, long after Jesus had preached both in Galilee and Judæa, that 'John was not yet cast into prison.'"

Now, in reality, this alleged contradiction is a most beautiful example of undesigned and perfect harmony, and a convincing pledge of the historical fidelity of both the gospels.

And, first, the contradiction is produced by a double misstatement of what the gospels really affirm. St. Matthew tells us that, after John's imprisonment, Jesus returned into Galilee; but there is not one word about its being his first appearance in the province. On the contrary, he represents him to have resided there for nearly thirty years previously, and there is nothing in the passage which forbids us to suppose a previous return thither after his baptism, if not attended with a course of public preaching. On the other hand, St. John does not assert any public ministry of Christ in Galilee before John's imprisonment. All that he records is a single miracle in a private festival, and a stay, apparently of a very few days, before the first passover:

If we examine the passages more closely, their mutual harmony will become very conspicuous.

1. First, St. Matthew tells us that our Lord's return to Galilee was in consequence of the tidings having first reached him that John had been cast into prison. Now since he states that our Lord's home was Nazareth, there is here implied, though in a most indirect manner, some previous stay in Judæa, besides what was required by the fact of his baptism. The most natural implication will be, that he had begun his ministry in Judæa; but that the imprisonment of

John being a signal of danger if he should continue there any longer, he transferred it to Galilee. Now this obscure intimation of St. Matthew is precisely what we find confirmed by the Gospel of St. John, which states a previous exercise of our Lord's ministry in Judæa, before John's imprisonment.

2. Two returns into Galilee are specified in St. John's Gospel, i. 43; iv. 43-45. The first question is, which of these answers to the description of St. Matthew. Now even apart from the reference to John's imprisonment, it is only the second, not the first, which fulfils the description. For, after the return in Matthew, our Lord began at once a course of public teaching in Galilee, and a circuit of the whole province. But nothing of the kind appears after the first return in St. John's Gospel. On the contrary, his stay is expressly said to have been "not many days," and no act of public teaching is expressed, or even implied. On the contrary, it is evidently taught us that our Lord delayed the commencement of his public ministry till he could open it with more solemnity at Jerusalem, at the feast of the passover.

3. Let us now examine the statement of the later gospel, that "John was not yet cast into prison." Here it is plainly implied that the imprisonment took place soon after, and that, without such a cautionary remark, the readers might naturally have supposed it was already begun. The words are evidently inserted as a parenthesis, to remove a probable misapprehension from their minds. Now whence could that impression have arisen, which alone rendered the cautionary remark necessary? Plainly, from the three earlier gospels, which mention no public ministry of our Lord until after John's imprisonment was begun. The words are, therefore, a tacit intimation of St. John to his readers, that his narrative is here a supplement to the other gospels, and relates to an earlier part of our Lord's ministry which they had not recorded. If this earlier ministry, however, had been placed in Galilee, it would have contradicted their statements; but since the scene as well as the time was different, instead of a contradiction, it is a coincidence, and illustrates the force of their statement, that John's imprisonment was the signal for our Lord's departure into Galilee.

4. There is still one point of divergence in the two gospels which needs explanation. According to St. Matthew, it was the tidings of John's imprisonment which occasioned the

return of Jesus into Galilee. According to St. John, it was his knowledge that the Pharisees had heard of his popularity, and that he was making and baptizing more disciples than John. There is here a very near approach to a contradiction, which only illustrates more strikingly the truth and accuracy of both evangelists. Mr. Greswell infers, from John iv. 1, that the Baptist was not imprisoned when our Lord set out from Judæa; and from the other gospels, that he was imprisoned before the arrival in Galilee, and hence places it during the stay of two days in Samaria. This, however, creates a real contradiction, since Matthew affirms that Jesus had *heard* of the imprisonment before he departed into Galilee. On the other hand, the words John iv. 1, are most naturally understood of a report that both Jesus and John were baptizing, with this only difference, that the followers of Jesus were more numerous than those of John. How, then, shall this partial discrepancy be reconciled, and the two accounts be shown to agree?

The solution, on close inquiry, is very simple. Our Lord and the Baptist were alike baptizing at the Jordan, and not far from each other. The tidings of the imprisonment would, therefore, reach our Lord, it is most likely, in a single day. Machærus, where John was confined, is close to that part of Jordan which borders on the land of Judæa. Hence the tidings would reach our Lord either on the same, or at furthest on the following day. But the Pharisees, to whom allusion is made, are evidently the ruling party of the Jews in the sanhedrim at Jerusalem. The increase of our Lord's popularity was gradual, though rapid. The whole continuance of his ministry in Judæa did not probably exceed two months; and it would only be during the last two or three weeks that it would be likely to have surpassed the ministry of John in the numbers who followed it. Three days would, probably, be required for tidings from Ænon, where John was baptizing, so that the comparison could be fully made. And hence it is probable that the report of our Lord's superior popularity would have ripened into full conviction in the minds of the Pharisees only for ten days or a fortnight before John's imprisonment. That event, as soon as it was known, would concentrate all their opposition upon Jesus himself, already become the more dangerous adversary, and would thus be a motive for his removal, not so much in itself, as on account of

the fresh impetus which it would give to their malicious opposition. Thus the two circumstances will agree perfectly in respect of time, while the statement of St. John is a supplement to that of St. Matthew, in the key which it supplies to the motives of our Lord. In fact, if his chief danger were from Herod, it is strange that he should remove out of Judæa, which was not subject to his power, into Galilee, which was the chief part of his tetrarchy. But the words of St. John remove the difficulty. It was not Herod himself who was the source of danger, but the jealousy of the Pharisees, already awakened by his growing popularity, and sure to be concentrated upon him, now that the Baptist was put out of the way.

No. X.

John iv. 43, 44. "Now after two days he departed thence, and went into Galilee. For Jesus himself testified, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country."

Luke iv. 23, 24. "And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country. And he said, Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country."

Matt. xiii. 57. "And they were offended in him. But Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house. And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief."

The harmony between these passages, in their report of our Lord's own saying, is direct and simple; but, for this very reason, forms no part of the present argument. It is their difficulties and apparent obscurities which really furnish us with a most convincing proof of their historical reality.

And first, the statement in St. Luke belongs to our Lord's visit to Nazareth, before he went down to Capernaum, and there began his public ministry. It thus appears to involve a strange oversight and complete anachronism; for if our Lord had not yet removed to Capernaum, or opened his public ministry, which seems to have begun in his own city by that solemn appeal to prophecy, how could the Nazarenes make that appeal to him, "Whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country."

Now here the Gospel of St. John supplies an indirect but complete answer. We are there told that our Lord returned

first to Cana in Galilee; that while at Cana, a nobleman of Capernaum came to him and entreated that he would heal his son; that the cure was wrought by Jesus, without his going to that city in person, and led to the conversion of the whole household. Here, then, was a cure wrought in Capernaum, even before Jesus himself had taken up his residence in that city, exactly of the kind which might elicit the request of the Nazarenes; for it was plainly a miracle of healing which they demanded from him.

Another difficulty is found in the passage of St. John's Gospel. For since our Lord dwelt at Nazareth, and this is always called his own country in the other gospels, how could this saying of Christ explain his removal into Galilee? Here most commentators have felt some perplexity. They suppose, in general, that there is a tacit allusion to the particular part of Galilee, to which our Lord returned, as if the ellipsis were to be supplied—"not, however, to Nazareth, but to Cana and Capernaum." The adage is then applied in both cases to the very same circumstance, the removal from Nazareth to some other part of Galilee. But the ellipsis is most harsh and unnatural; for the remark occurs upon the mention of the province, and not of the particular town to which he returned. Had such been the meaning of the writer, he would surely have arranged his statement differently. "Now after two days he departed thence, and went into Galilee. And he came again to Cana, where he made the water wine. For Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country." But since he has not adopted this order, we may fairly reject the explanation as strained and unnatural.

We are thus thrown back upon a much simpler interpretation, where all is consistent; that Judæa, in the view of the evangelist, was our Lord's own country, and in this respect the most natural scene of his ministry. Now this is in entire agreement with the facts, though not with the phraseology, of the other gospels; for, according to both Matthew and Luke, Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Judæa, and was of the royal lineage of David. According to St. Matthew, the return to Nazareth, after the visit of the magi, was by a Divine admonition, to avoid the danger of a longer continuance at Bethlehem, the natural home of the promised Son of David. Hence it is plain that Judæa, in contrast with Galilee, was our Lord's natural home and proper country;

though, from his later residence there, Nazareth was his own country, in contrast to every other part of Galilee.

Now the passage, when thus explained (and no other explanation is consistent with the plain meaning of the words), becomes a remarkable example of undesigned coincidence. For this gospel, though it states the difficulties and objections of the Jews, because of our Lord's supposed birth-place at Nazareth, and home in Galilee, does not state any where his true birth-place, or the tribe to which he belonged. The use of the phrase, "his own country," as applied to Judæa, though fully justified by the facts in the other gospels, is without a parallel, since they always refer it to Nazareth only. Yet there is here a further congruity. For those gospels are occupied entirely with the ministry in Galilee, except on the last visit to Jerusalem; and Nazareth was certainly our Lord's own country, in contrast with the rest of Galilee. But St. John records almost entirely the ministry in Judæa, and in stating the first transfer of that ministry to Galilee, it was equally natural and appropriate that he should style Judæa "his own country."

The saying, it thus appears, received two distinct and successive fulfilments; first in the departure from Judæa, the proper home of the son of David, to despised Galilee, because of the unbelief of the Jews; and next, in the transfer of his home from Nazareth to Capernaum, through the similar unbelief of the Nazarenes.

No. XI.

The first three gospels agree in giving us a list of the twelve apostles, and the order is the same, with one or two slight variations. In St. Matthew's Gospel his own name is placed after that of Thomas, which follows it in the two others. In St. Mark, Andrew is the fourth in order, following the two sons of Zebedee, while in St. Luke, Judas the brother of James, being the same with Lebbaeus, comes after Simon Zelotes, just before the name of the traitor. With these exceptions, the arrangement is the same in all the lists.

Now a reason for this order, in the priority of the first four apostles, may be found in the narrative of their call, when Simon and Andrew were first invited to follow Christ, and then James and John, the sons of Zebedee. With regard, however, to the place of the two others which follow next,

there is no key to explain it, and indeed their names never occur elsewhere in these gospels.

On turning, however, to the fourth gospel, we have an explanation, which bears every mark of undesignedness. Indeed it requires a very careful attention, to decipher its meaning so plainly, as to make it applicable in this inquiry. It will be necessary to quote at some length.

John i. 35-47. "Again the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples; and looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith, Behold the Lamb of God! And the two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus. Then Jesus turned, and saw them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? They said unto him, Rabbi, where dwellest thou? He saith unto them, Come and see. They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day: it was about the tenth hour. One of the two which heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ. And he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A stone. The day following Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me. Now Philip was of Bethsaida, from the city of Andrew and Peter. Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph. And Nathanael said unto him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip saith unto him, Come and see. Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile."

It is plainly deducible from the connexion, that these incidents occurred after the forty days' temptation, at the very beginning of our Lord's ministry. It was the first introduction of these disciples to Jesus, and they seem to have been the first disciples who followed him.

The name of the other disciple, who heard John speak and followed Jesus, is not given. Yet we may infer with certainty, that it was one of the sons of Zebedee, and probably the evangelist himself. For when it is said of Andrew, "he first (οὗτος πρῶτος) findeth his own brother Simon," it is

implied that the other disciple also had an own brother, whom he brought to Jesus. St. John also invariably conceals his own name throughout the Gospel. On this view the word *first* has a double emphasis. Not only each of these disciples brought a brother to Jesus, but Andrew was earlier than his companion in so doing. Hence it follows that the first pair of disciples who came to Jesus, were Simon and Andrew, and the next in order were James and John, and since their discipleship began on the same day, the elder brother, perhaps, in each case took the priority. The narrative next describes the call of Philip, and then of Nathanael, who is mentioned again, John xxi. 2, and clearly as one of the apostles. Hence he is doubtless the same with Bartholomew, by which patronymic he is termed in the other gospels. Philip and Bartholomew are united there, as Philip and Nathanael are in this passage, and the two names, Nathanael and Bartholomew, never occur together.

Thus, in this simple narrative, the order of discipleship of three pairs of apostles is determined, and is the very same in which they are placed in the apostolic list. The coincidence is real, but indirect. For the other evangelists never assert that the order of the names was that of original discipleship; while in the fourth gospel the names of James and John are not given, and Bartholomew appears under a distinct title, as Nathanael. Indeed the existence of the apostles, as a distinct body, is not alluded to in this gospel, until the close of the sixth chapter. The passage before us bears the marks of being a simple narrative by an eye witness, in the order of time; and the agreement with the order of the apostles, in the three lists of the other gospels is a spontaneous mark of historical reality.

No. XII.

John vi. 66-71. "From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve, Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. . . . Jesus answered them, Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon: for he it was that would betray him, being one of the twelve."

This is the first allusion, in St. John's Gospel, to the twelve apostles, as distinct from the rest of the disciples. The

passage agrees entirely with the express statements of the other gospels, and yet no one who reads it can possibly believe it introduced for the mere purpose of producing a coincidence. The only further mention of them, in this gospel, is of the very same kind. "But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came." The harmony is evidently spontaneous, and arises from the instinctive habits of thought in the writer, who knew well that the number and even the names of the twelve apostles, with their distinct call, were facts already quite familiar to his readers. That the statement could not be borrowed from the other gospels is further proved by the addition of the minute circumstance in each passage, that Judas was the son of a father named Simon, and that Thomas had also the surname of Didymus. It is this indirect assumption of historical facts, as familiarly known, and needing no illustration, which forms one practical test of genuine and faithful narrative.

No. XIII.

Matt. xiii. 55. "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us?"

There is a harmony, not obvious but recondite, in the number of our Lord's brethren, which appears only upon careful and attentive inquiry.

First, we read in John xix. 25, that there "stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleopas, and Mary Magdalene." Here we learn that Mary, the mother of Jesus, had a sister, also called Mary, who was the wife of a disciple named Cleopas.

Next, in Matt. xxvii. 56, we learn that among the women then present were "Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children." And again that "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary sat over against the sepulchre." Here we learn that the sister of the mother of Jesus, or Mary the wife of Cleopas, was also the mother of James and Joses, and distinguishable by this description from the other Marys.

Thirdly, in Mark xv. 41, this Mary is called "the mother of James the less and of Joses." In ver. 47 she is called simply the mother of Joses, and in the verse that next follows simply

the mother of James. The epithet, James the less, implies that there were two persons of this name, distinguished either in rank, or by personal stature. Now we know that there were two apostles of this name, and that the first in order was the son of Zebedee and Salome. And hence the only natural inference is that James the less is the other apostle, whose name occurs always near the end of the list.

Now it is clear that if James and Joses, the brethren of our Lord, were actually the sons of the mother of Jesus, the title, Mary the mother of James and Joses, would be no sufficient distinction for the wife of Cleopas. On the other hand, if they were the sons of Mary, the sister of the mother of Jesus, then they would be his own cousins, and in the Hebrew idiom the brethren of Jesus. And hence we infer that these two brethren were really the sons of the wife of Cleopas, and that the James thus mentioned is the same with James the less, or the second James in the list of the twelve apostles.

It is true that this apostle is called the son of Alphæus. But Alphæus and Cleopas are two forms which might be given in Greek to the same Hebrew surname, or this Mary, it is quite possible, might be married successively to two husbands, and James be her son by the former marriage.

Now the conclusion thus obtained indirectly is ratified by the incidental statement in the Epistle to the Galatians, where St. Paul speaks of this same apostle, whom he saw on his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, and whom he styles, to distinguish him from the son of Zebedee, *the Lord's brother*.

But this is not the only coincidence. For a Judas, as well as a James, is mentioned by the Nazarenes among the brethren of Jesus, and a Judas, besides Iscariot, is found in the list of the apostles. We can prove that these also are the same person, though in a very circuitous manner.

And first, this apostle, in two of the lists, is termed Lebæus or Thaddæus. It is only Luke who styles him twice, in his two lists of the apostles, "Judas, of James," where our translators supply the word, "brother." If their supplement be allowed, the question seems decided at once, for if Judas was the brother of James, and James the brother of the Lord, and son of the second Mary, then Judas must also have been one of our Lord's brethren, and would almost of course be the person so styled by the Nazarenes.

It has been maintained, however, as by Olshausen, that *son* is the true supplement, and hence that this Judas the apostle, being the son of some other James, is not the same with the Judas in the list of the Nazarenes, nor with the Judas, brother of James, who wrote the epistle. For this view an appeal is made to grammatical usage. But, even on this very ground, the modern critic is less exact than the old interpreters. For the form of the phrase, Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, differs from that where *the son* is denoted, by the absence of the article, and exactly resembles the phrase, Μαρία Ἰακώβου, where not *wife*, the usual supplement, but *mother* is implied. In both cases Mary and Judas are identified by the mention of a relative still better known than themselves. This could therefore be no unknown James, but one of the two apostles of that name, and as clearly the second. Now the apostle Judas could not be the son of the apostle James, but might very well be a younger brother, and such accordingly is the only true construction of the phrase of St. Luke.

Now this conclusion is incidentally confirmed by two distinct and indirect testimonies of the apostolic epistles. And first, the Epistle of Jude has the superscription, "Judas, the brother of James." This agrees thoroughly with the previous inference, that Jude the apostle was the brother of James the apostle, and probably his younger brother, and one of the four brethren of Jesus mentioned by the Nazarenes. There is no assertion, it is true, that the writer is one of the twelve, but the whole tone of the epistle, its early adoption into the canon, and its resemblance to the Epistle of St. Peter, render this the most natural view, and we have thus a coincidence, indirect in all its parts, but satisfactory and complete.

Again, if Jude the apostle was the brother of James, it follows that not one only, but two brethren, that is, own cousins of the Lord, were in the apostolic college. And this fact comes to light also, very indirectly, in a passage of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where St. Paul writes as follows: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as both the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?" (1 Cor. ix. 5.) Here the very order of the words proves that there is a climax, and that the brethren of the Lord here alluded to were apostles, just as "the rest" who are named before them, and Cephas who is mentioned after them. Hence it appears that there were at least two apostles to whom this

distinctive title applied; which agrees punctually with the conclusion just established, that Judas was the brother of James, and that both apostles are the same as the James and Judas in the list of the Nazarenes.

There is here a further coincidence, which, though delicate, seems to be not the less real. The question of the Nazarenes, "Are they not here with us?" applies to the sisters only. But since two of the four brethren whom they named were of the number of the apostles, it is clear that the assertion implied in their words would not have been true, if extended to these also; for they must have been absent from Nazareth during the whole time of their presence with Jesus, and perhaps even earlier.

It may seem a difficulty in the way of this coincidence, that St. John tells us, vii. 3-5, the brethren of our Lord did not believe in him; and also that St. Luke mentions their presence, Acts i. 15, along with the apostles, and still distinct from them. The latter passage, however, is quite consistent with the previous conclusion, since there were two, among the four named by the Nazarenes, who were not of the number of the apostles; for it is clear that Simon the Canaanite or Zealot is a different Simon from the one in their list. The statement in St. John is more perplexing, though its difficulty would not be removed, by distinguishing James and Jude the apostles from supposed namesakes among our Lord's brethren. We should still have to explain the contrast between John vii. 3-5 and Acts i. 13, where there is a seeming contradiction. The true explanation seems to be that the title, "brethren," is here used in a wider sense, for the near relations of our Lord, as distinct from the two, and perhaps from all the four brethren, in that list of the Nazarenes. The mention of the twelve just before, and the familiarity of the fact, that two of them were brethren of the Lord, would render the meaning clear to the writer himself, and to his first readers.

No. XIV.

The evangelists mention a double cleansing of the temple by our Lord, once at the very beginning, and one just before the close, of his public ministry. The later event is recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, but the earlier by St. John only. They have so great a resemblance in their

general character, that some critics, in defiance of the clear statements of the gospels, and with a strange sacrifice of common sense to rash hypothesis, have maintained them to be the same. Yet, amidst the resemblance, there is a minute difference, which suits well the difference of the circumstances, and shows the historical accuracy of either narrative. In St. John, at the first occurrence, the rebuke is couched in a general admonition. "Take these things hence: make not my Father's house a *house of merchandize*." But on the repetition of the offence, and the second exercise of authority, the rebuke becomes a cutting and severe denunciation of their aggravated sin. "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a *den of thieves*." This minute, but appropriate difference, will go far, with thoughtful minds, to confirm the historical accuracy of the evangelists in their report of each event.

No. XV.

Matt. xxvi. 60, 61. "At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days."

Mark xiv. 57-59. "And there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying, We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands. But neither so did their witness agree together."

The partial diversity of these two statements may be at once explained by the fact that the reports of the witnesses did not agree together. Yet the agreement is so close as to imply the existence of some saying of Jesus, which might account for their definite charge against him. No passage, however, is found in the first three gospels to explain it. Only in the fourth gospel, and in an entirely different connexion, at the very opening of our Lord's ministry, and at Jerusalem, the scene of the trial, we find a complete key to their testimony. "Then answered the Jews and said unto him, What sign shonest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days? But he spake of the temple of his body."

We have here precisely the fact which accounts for the false testimony of the witnesses. For the conversation took place in Jerusalem, and excited at the time the wonder and unbelief of the Jews. It may even assist us to perceive in what light this testimony was urged against the Lord; namely, that he pretended to be a prophet, and yet had failed to give that very sign which he proposed himself on first opening his ministry, as the test and pledge of a Divine commission. And it must be observed that St. John, who records this saying, makes no mention of the false testimony which it serves to explain, and even places it in a connexion entirely different, and at the greatest possible distance of time, three years before the trial occurred.

No. XVI.

Matt. xvii. 1, 2. "And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them."

Matt. xxvi. 37. "And he took with him Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy."

Mark v. 37. "And he suffered no man to follow him, save Peter and James, and John the brother of James."

Luke xxii. 8. "And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat."

Mark iii. 16, 17. "And Simon he surnamed Peter, and James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James, and he surnamed them Boanerges, which is, The sons of thunder."

There is a striking harmony in these passages, compared with each other, and with the rest of the history. We learn from St. Matthew that, of all the twelve apostles, three only were allowed to be present at the two most solemn events in the life of their Lord, the Transfiguration and the Agony. This pre-eminence of relative honour, in these three apostles, is confirmed by St. Mark in a third instance, the raising of the ruler's daughter, when only the same three disciples were suffered to enter the house and witness the cure. St. Luke further notes a like distinction, in the case of Peter and John, who were selected by our Lord to prepare the room for the Last Supper.

Now St. Mark supplies incidentally a confirmation of this pre-eminence, of a different kind, that these were the only

apostles to whom our Lord gave distinct surnames. And this is the more observable, since that of Simon was given to him alone, but the surname of the two sons of Zebedee was common to both. We find further traces of it, in the promptness of Peter to speak in the name of the rest, and in the petition of the sons of Zebedee for the two foremost places in the kingdom, and in their request to be permitted to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritans. We may even detect probable traces, elsewhere, of two parties, one advocating the claims of Peter, and the other, of the two sons of Zebedee, to the foremost rank. Thus, when Peter was absent on the commission about the tribute money, the words of which might be construed as a special honour to him, "That take and give to them for me and thee," the others seize the opportunity to renew the inquiry—"Who then is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" And it seems that some of them, in so doing, had incurred the displeasure of that apostle, as if they had seized the occasion of his absence to gain, if possible, an adverse decision; for his first inquiry seems to be, on his return, "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him?"

Now, the same distinction appears again in the Acts of the Apostles. It is Peter and John, who go up together to the temple, when the lame man is cured, and bear witness to Christ before the rulers. When Samaria receives the gospel, the apostles send down to them Peter and John. When Herod persecutes the church, James, the brother of John, is singled out for the first object of his malice, and Peter next after James, as if they were the two most conspicuous leaders. And still later, at the time of the council, Peter and John, and James the Less, who seems promoted to the post left vacant by the death of his namesake, are named by St. Paul as the chief pillars of the church. There is here a train of coincidences, indirect, but not the less clear and impressive, in the harmony of all these widely scattered intimations.

No. XVII.

Mark vii. 1-3. "Then came together unto him the Pharisees, and certain of the scribes, which came from Jerusalem. And when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen hands, they found fault. For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they

wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders."

We have in these verses, and the rest of the chapter, an example of the spirit which animated the Pharisees, their tradition of outward washing before meat, and the rebuke which it drew from the Lord Jesus—"Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites."

In St. Luke, xi. 37-54, xii. 1-3, we have a different incident, recorded by another evangelist; and the harmony between them, while they are clearly distinct events, is very striking. "As he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him, and he went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner." The parties were similar, and the cause of offence the very same, and we find that the rebuke is exactly similar also. "Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make that which is within also." And in the next chapter, hypocrisy is still the key note of the discourse. "He began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." There is thus a coincidence, not only in the description of the conduct of our Lord, and of the offence taken by the Pharisees, but in the point of the rebuke itself, while all the other circumstances are quite different.

No. XVIII.

There is a marked, though indirect agreement, in the various hints given us by the different evangelists respecting the deep impression made by John's ministry on the people at large.

First, we are told by St. Luke (iii. 15) that "the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not," and it is this general expectation which leads him to the public disclaimer, given in all the three earlier gospels.

Next, we are taught by St. John that the excitement of the public mind led to a formal embassy from Jerusalem of the Pharisees, and that their first question was, "Who art thou? And he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ;" words which imply that he thereby disappointed the sanguine hope of many eager followers.

At the close of our Lord's ministry, the captious inquiry of the Pharisees is silenced by the question—"The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men? And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say From heaven, he will say, Why then believed ye him not? But if we say, Of men; all the people will stone us; for they be persuaded that John was a prophet."

The same character appears from our Lord's discourse, John v. 33-35. "Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. . . . He was a burning and a shining light: and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light." And again, quite indirectly, in the account of his stay beyond Jordan, x. 41, "And many resorted unto him, and said, John did no miracle; but all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on him there."

But the same fact receives a striking confirmation from the discourse of Paul at Antioch. We there find that, at a distance from Palestine, and sixteen or seventeen years after the crucifixion, the testimony of John was a powerful engine to induce faith in Jesus as the Christ. "And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not he. But, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose."

All these notices, which arise incidentally in each case, agree in giving the same view of the Baptist's ministry, that the people were on the point of receiving him as their Messiah, and were held back chiefly by two reasons, the absence of miracles, and the strong and clear testimony of John himself, that he was not the Christ, but his forerunner only.

Now there is something, on a hasty view, so paradoxical in this view of the popular feeling, that only its reality can account for the constant harmony of these descriptions. For certainly it seems a paradox, that the great body of the Jews should be ready to welcome John as the Christ, though he wrought no miracles, and expressly affirmed that a greater than he was about to come; and that all the miracles of the Lord Jesus should fail to persuade them of his Messiahship, and leave them hardening in stubborn unbelief.

No. XIX.

Luke xxii. 27. "For whether is greater, he that sitteth

at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth."

The rest of this passage in St. Luke is nearly the same as one recorded by two other evangelists somewhat earlier, and before the entry into Jerusalem. This part, however, is peculiar to the third gospel, and to the dispute at the time of the last supper. Is there anything to account for its introduction? In this gospel there is not; but when we refer to St. John we find a beautiful explanation. It was just before, at the beginning of the last supper, that the incident of washing the disciples' feet had occurred. "He took a towel and girded himself, and poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded." After this touching instance of love and condescension, what a special propriety appears in this appeal. "For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth."

No. XX.

John xviii. 11. "Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

There is nothing in this gospel to explain the peculiar phrase which our Lord here employs to express his entire resignation to the will of his Father. Indeed the words, taken alone, indicate clearly their own meaning. But there is a beautiful coincidence, and a deeper emphasis in the words, when we remember the account in the other gospels of the prayer he had offered just before in his hour of agony. "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt." "O my Father, if this cup may not pass from me, except I drink it, thy will be done." How expressively does this question crown the triumph of patient resignation. "Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

CONCLUSION.

The chief object of the present work has been to complete the argument drawn from the undesignated coincidences of its separate parts, to establish the authenticity and veracity of the writings of the New Testament. Some parts of this argument,

indeed, with reference to the gospels, cannot be presented in this fragmentary and independent form, and require a distinct line of investigation to make their force and reality apparent. But enough, and more than enough, has been advanced, to prove the authenticity of St. Paul's epistles, the faithfulness and veracity of the book of Acts, and the truth of the main outlines of the gospel history. It will not be natural to close this inquiry without some practical application of the momentous conclusions which it has disclosed.

What are the facts established by the evidence of the letters alone? That St. Paul, who before was a blasphemer and a persecutor, was arrested in his wicked course by a vision of the Lord Jesus appearing to him from heaven; that he was commissioned by him to be an apostle and teacher of the Gentiles; that he exercised and conveyed miraculous gifts in virtue of the power thus entrusted to him by his risen Lord; that more than three hundred brethren were alive when he wrote, who had seen Jesus after his resurrection; that this great fact was proclaimed by all the twelve apostles, and received with undoubting confidence by ten thousands of disciples, in the face of every temptation to deny and disbelieve it; that it was believed by them to be the fulfilment of many prophecies in the Old Testament, and attested by all the miraculous gifts of the apostles and evangelists; that in consequence of their double testimony, within thirty-six years from the public execution of Jesus as a malefactor, churches were planted in Jerusalem, Samaria, Lydda, Joppa, Cæsarea Damascus, Ptolemais, Tyre, the two Antiochs, Syria and Cilicia, Pisidia and Pamphylia, Galatia and Phrygia, in Troas, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea and Corinth, in Cyprus and Crete, in Illyricum and Dalmatia, and in Rome itself, the metropolis of the civilized world. All these churches, brought to the faith by the preaching of the apostles, and the moral and miraculous evidence of the message, confessed, in the face of obloquy and bitter persecution, that Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Jews had publicly crucified, was the only begotten Son of God, come down from heaven to be the Saviour of the world. Within a few weeks after his death, in the very city where it occurred, the apostles began to proclaim his resurrection from the dead, and his ascension into heaven, confirming their statement by a present exercise of supernatural powers, and with such convincing evidence that thousands of converts,

under the very eye of the Jewish rulers, and in the face of their strenuous opposition, risked their fortunes and their lives by enrolling themselves as disciples and servants of the once despised Nazarene. The Gospels, the book of Acts, and the Epistles, by a mutual attestation, and a harmony too deep to be artificial or collusive, place these facts beyond dispute with every ingenuous and reasonable mind.

From these same facts it results evidently that Christianity, in its great essential outlines, is true, and that these writings contain the record of a Divine revelation. God, who had spoken before to the fathers by the prophets, has renewed and enlarged his message, and has spoken to us by his Son, the brightness of His own glory, and the express image of His person, who is now seated on the right hand of the Majesty on high. It becomes every one, therefore, to inquire with deep reverence, What has the Lord spoken? What is the word of salvation which the Lord of glory has himself brought to sinners, confirming its truth by "signs and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?"

This inquiry into the nature of the gospel is still more urgent and imperative, when we reflect on a further truth, established in these writings, that the Lord, with his parting voice, commanded the message to be sent to all nations of the earth, and pronounced a blessing on those who should receive it, and a solemn curse on those who should reject and disobey it. "Thus it is written," he said to them, "and thus it behoved the Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned." A message thus enforced by the lips of Him who is perfect in wisdom, must be of unspeakable moment to every child of man on the face of the earth. Wherever it is proclaimed, the first of all duties is to learn its nature, and the evidence on which it rests, and then to embrace with the whole heart the will of God which it enforces, and the promises which it reveals.

What, then, is the nature of the Divine message, so wonderfully attested by signs and miracles, and gifts of the Holy

Ghost, by the unwearied labours of the apostles, by the holy, happy deaths of the first martyrs, and by the holy, happy lives of countless believers, in those days when the church continued still in its first love? Surely it is something more and higher than a republication of social morality, and a re-assertion of the truth, so instinctive to the human spirit amidst the lowest degradation, that the whole man does not die, and that the soul survives the dissolution of its clay tabernacle. The mere certainty of a prolonged existence after death is far, very far short of the inspired declaration that Jesus Christ "hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." Let us endeavour to gain, from the sacred writings of the apostles, a juster view of the Christian revelation under these main aspects, the condition of men, the person of the Redeemer, his precepts and example, his atoning death, the gift of the Spirit, and the promise of life eternal.

The first main feature of the gospel proclaimed by the apostles, is its clear and full proclamation of the fallen state of man, and the moral guilt and corruption of all mankind. By this first truth it is broadly distinguished at once from every form of heathen superstition, and all the varieties of mere human philosophy. Man, sunk and degraded by sin, can form no just measure of his own degradation. His pride, indeed, may often revolt against the conditions of his animal life, and against the grosser forms of sensual intemperance and folly; but the mainspring, the love of God and holiness, is wanting in his heart, or very imperfectly restored; and hence morality itself degenerates, when derived merely from a human fountain. The retrospective analysis of conscience may prove, indeed, that every man falls short of the true standard of duty, but will never disclose the true amount of the awful deficiency. In the schemes of superstition, where priests make a profit of working upon terrified consciences, the wound may, perhaps, be probed deeper than in the systems of mere philosophers. But the moral code of superstition is only a new, and sometimes the darkest form, of the very evil it pretends to expose and remedy. Everywhere, and in all ages, it puts the shadow for the substance, and a worship of outward forms and ceremonies, a mere lip service, for living holiness of heart, and the allegiance of the creature to God, the Creator and Benefactor, in spirit and in truth. Too often the evil is deeper

still. Lust and cruelty are canonized in the name of religion, and the name of false gods, or of the true God himself, is pleaded in behalf of foul deeds of impurity, or hateful acts of inhumanity, from which even the natural conscience, when not perverted by superstition, recoils with horror. And thus, while systems of refined philosophy, and the more graceful forms of false religion, heal slightly the hurt of the fallen heart, these darker and baser systems of idol-worship and cruel bigotry pour vitriol into its bleeding and putrifying wounds.

Here, then, is the first main contrast of the gospel of Christ. Its voice, though tender and compassionate, is solemn and severe, like the countenance of the archangel who announced to Adam his expulsion from Paradise. It speaks of pity for the sinner, but does not heal his wound slightly, or attempt to disguise from him the greatness of his fall. It does not lower the claims of holiness to meet the depraved habits of the soul, nor pretend that evil is a mere harmless accident, or necessary result of our compounded form of being. It searches out the secret sins of the heart. It proclaims the alienation of men from true holiness, and from the life of God, through the ignorance and blindness of their hearts. It tells us that "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God," that death is "the wages of sin," and all forms of human sorrow only instalments of its just and fitting penalty. It announces, in brief language, the double truth, so harsh and ungrateful to the ears of a fallen race. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die;" and "God will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil." To creatures thus fallen, a bare revelation, however fully confirmed, of a prolonged existence after death, to which some would debase the gospel, would be only a mockery of their real wants. It would be only a message of fear and sorrow, announcing to them "a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversary," instead of being, as its name implies, "glad tidings of great joy."

The next main feature of the gospel message relates to the person and glory of the promised Redeemer. The greatness of the ruin which it proclaims implies the need for a great and mighty deliverance. A redemption is needed, co-extensive in its power of application with the evil which it has to remedy,

a cure for the world-wide sins and sorrows of the whole race of mankind. No scheme of philosophy, however subtle and elegant, no power of human genius, however profound, are equal, or could possibly be equal, to this momentous task. For long ages the promise of a deliverance was given, but its exact nature, and the person by whom it was to be procured, were veiled in types and shadowy emblems from the clear vision of the holiest men. They saw it afar off, but dimly, and as by moonlight, until the appointed season, when the true Day-star was to arise. Then, at length, the types of the law, the scattered predictions of the prophets, the instincts of human desire, in the prayer of Solomon, "Will God in very deed dwell with men?" the necessities of a ruin so vast, the requirements of infinite justice, the promptings of unfathomable love, all converged upon a truth too wonderful to be received on lighter evidence, too glorious and sublime, too precious and holy, to be rejected without fearful guilt, where such evidence has been given; that the only begotten Son of the Father, by whom the worlds were made—the Word who was with the Father from the beginning—the brightness of His glory, who upholdeth all things by the word of his power,—has himself been made flesh, and tabernacled among us. To this glorious and wonderful fact all the apostles bear witness with consenting voice. Though they had eaten and drunk in his presence—seen him in his human weakness, when weary and thirsty, homeless and despised, bowed to the earth with agony, or crowned with thorns and nailed to the cross—their nearness of communion with Jesus of Nazareth in the days of his flesh, only deepened their conviction of his unrivalled majesty, which beamed forth amidst his deepest humiliation of love. "We beheld," they tell us, "his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." "We have seen, and do testify, that the Father hath sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world." "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

This glory of Christ, as the Son of God, shines out in every part of the New Testament and may be called the essence of the Christian revelation. Wherever this truth is lost or obscured, the very nature of the gospel has passed away. It is the condescending love of the Saviour, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but

made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, which forms at once the foundation of all Christian hope, and the mainspring of all Christian obedience. So powerful is its operation, where it is really credited, and not in words only, that one apostle lays down the maxim with Divine authority, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God." By the view of a redemption so passing wonderful, the soul is raised from the love of sin into adoring fellowship with the Creator, and communion with His pure and uncreated goodness. How can we believe the fact of a gift so unspeakable, and not be filled with deepest gratitude for such a mysterious and unfathomable love? And hence the volume which opens with the declaration, "His name shall be called Emmanuel, God with us;" closes with a similar statement, twice repeated by the lips of the exalted Saviour—"I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. I am the Root and the Offspring of David, and the bright and morning Star."

The next main feature of the gospel consists in the Divine morality and holy example of the Lord Jesus. Morality, it is true, was not the sole or highest object of his mission, if the term be used in its ordinary meaning, to denote the outward rules of right conduct between man and man. Yet to purify and elevate the standard of duty, to clear the law of God from false glosses, from Pharisaic additions and Sadducean corruptions, that reduced it to a mere bundle of ceremonial ordinances, was one main purpose of the mission of the Son of God. It was needful to elevate and arouse the conscience, before the mercy of God could be duly prized, or the Divine atonement welcomed by a guilty race. And hence the New Testament is marked throughout by the purest and highest exhibitions of moral truth. All outward actions are traced inward and upward to the fountains of the heart, and all obedience is declared to be worthless where the heart itself is not filled with the love of God and man. The two great commandments are singled out from all the others, in their Divine simplicity, and are unfolded into an immense variety of holy precepts, which all bespeak a Divine origin, by their union of deep, living earnestness, with moral and spiritual elevation of tone. "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." "Be ye therefore perfect, even

as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." "Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted," "forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you so also do ye." "Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good." "Rejoice evermore. Pray without ceasing. In everything give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you." Such are a few of the bright gems in this multitude of holy precepts, which ennoble and glorify the Christian revelation, and mark the message as truly unearthly and Divine.

But the morality of the gospel does not reside in mere precepts alone. Here, and here only, an elevated moral standard is enforced by a living example of sinless obedience. In the life of the Lord Jesus all the varied forms of moral goodness meet together, and are harmonized into their perfect union—purity and gentleness; severity against sin, and grace to the sinner; zeal for the glory of God, and tender love towards mankind; fervour and calmness; condescension and dignity; activity of outward labour, and habits of heavenly contemplation. The precepts of our Lord, when read by the light of his own example, thus acquire a moral power and a hold on the conscience, which precepts alone, however pure and excellent, could never secure. Amidst all the variable standards of worldly morality, and the darkening power of example in a world of sin, here is one bright vision of perfect goodness, to awaken the desire, and revive the hopes, of every fallen spirit, that has begun, however dimly and irresolutely, to seek after God.

Even this union of a high morality with a spotless example, however unrivalled by all false religions or human systems, is not the main excellence of the Christian revelation. It has another character, exclusively its own. In the death of the Lord Jesus it sets before the sinner a full provision for the removal of all his guilt, a way of complete and lasting reconciliation with the God of holiness. The atoning sacrifice of the Lamb of God is at once the fulfilment of all the numerous types of the Jewish law, and the Divine response to the deepest craving, the sorest and darkest doubt of the sinner's burdened heart. "How shall men be just with God?" has been the cry of the awakened conscience from the earliest times;

and as soon as thought and reflection have been awakened, the inquiry has given birth to another, still deeper, and equally hard to solve, "How shall God be just towards man, and still the guilty be saved from perishing in hopeless condemnation?" The gospel alone solves the mystery; not indeed in a way which flatters the pride of the intellect, for to the intellect it remains a mystery still, but in a way that frees the conscience from its burden, and fills the heart with love; while the spiritual reason sees, though dimly, the equity and wisdom of the new economy of grace. And this is the substance of the message, that "all we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid upon HIM," even on Jesus, his own beloved Son, "the iniquity of us all;" that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them;" and that "He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." In the punishment of the Surety and Substitute we may thus read the Divine equity and holiness; in the double transfer of sin to the Saviour, and of grace to the sinner, the Divine sovereignty and love. And thus, in the words of the apostle, God is just, while justifying him that believeth in Jesus; while the Psalmist predicts the same blessing in a more vivid, though less definite utterance of joyful anticipation. "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and righteousness shall look down from heaven."

It is this free and full atonement for the sins of the guilty, revealed in the gospel, which renders it indeed glad tidings of great joy to every race of mankind. In the words of an early writer (which prove the deep hold of this truth on the hearts of the first Christians), "He gave his own Son a ransom for us, the holy for the lawless, the harmless for the wicked, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else could cover our sins besides his righteousness? In whom could we, the lawless and unholy, be justified, save by the Son of God alone? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable wisdom! O unexpected benefits, that the sin of many should be hidden by one righteous, and the righteousness of one justify many sinners! Having now, therefore, revealed the Saviour, who is able to save even what seemed incapable of salvation, He

sought that we should trust in his goodness, account him our nourisher, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, wisdom, light, honour, glory, strength, and life, and not be anxious concerning food and raiment."

But the gospel, while it makes provision for the forgiveness of all past sin, provides equally for the recovery of inward holiness. The same Lord, who is revealed as the Lamb of God, or an atoning sacrifice for the sin of the whole world, is also revealed as the True Vine, the Living Bread, or the source of inward and spiritual nourishment and healing to the souls of men. Strengthened by his grace, the fishermen of Galilee have become examples of holiness, and teachers of wisdom, beyond all the great and mighty of the world, while blaspheming persecutors have been changed into preachers of righteousness and patterns of self-sacrificing love. The same Spirit, who wrought these triumphs in their hearts and lives, through the name of Christ, is promised to every one who believes the gospel, in all ages and countries of the world. And every age, and almost every country, has borne repeated witness to the truth of the promise. From the first centuries to the present hour, from the tropical regions to the snows of Greenland, the trophies of the doctrine of the cross have been the same.

The wretch that once sang wildly, danced and laughed,
And sucked in dizzy madness with his draught,
Has wept a silent flood, reversed his ways,
Is sober, meek, benevolent, and prays;
Feeds sparingly, communicates his store,
Abhors the craft he boasted of before;
And he that stole hath learned to steal no more.

The history of modern missions is hardly less fertile than that of the first rise of the church, in these blessed and delightful proofs of the efficacy of the gospel, the reality of the Spirit's presence with the word, and the transforming power of the doctrine of Christ. And how exquisite is the description, which the word of God itself supplies, to show the nature of this change, and to illustrate the moral causes which co-operate in producing it, wherever the love of Christ is made known! "We all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."

Lastly, it is the crowning excellence of the Christian revelation, that it discloses the prospect, to those who receive and

obey it, of a blessed immortality of love and holiness in the world to come. Not the bare certainty of a future state, which alone would be miserable comfort to the depraved and guilty—a living death; rather than life and immortality—but eternal life, including in that one word, peace, happiness, purity, light, love, and endless joy. And this is not a bare promise, but confirmed by a present earnest of its truth and certain fulfilment. For the same word which announces this blessed hope, declares also that eternal life is begun already in the heart of every believer in Christ, and appeals for the fact to their own present experience. “We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.” The seeds of a perennial and undying happiness are already sown in the heart, when sin is forgiven, the desires renewed, the affections purified, and the slave of sensual pleasures filled with the love of Christ and of holiness. But while the truth of the promise is thus assured by a present and real earnest, that foretaste on earth, we are equally assured, furnishes no adequate measure of the greatness of the future blessing. For “eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.”

Such are the main features of that revelation which the gospel supplies, and of which we find the record in those writings which it has been the object of these pages to examine, and prove historically faithful. It discovers the fallen and guilty state of mankind, but proclaims a sufficient and a glorious remedy, procured by the incarnation, the obedience, the example, the death and resurrection, of the everlasting Son of God. It brings deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who were bound with the double chain of sin and misery. It provides for those who embrace it, pardon through the atoning blood of Christ, holiness through the power of the Spirit of God, and the intercession of the Redeemer in glory, with “an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away,” confirmed by the promise and oath of God to all them that believe in his word, and obey his revealed will. May the writer, and every reader of these pages, embrace this free mercy of the God of heaven! May the blood of Christ be our only hope for the forgiveness of all our guilt, the grace of the Holy Spirit our only dependence for power to walk in the

way of peace and holiness, the kingdom of Christ the goal of all our desires, the blessed prize to which we continually are seeking to attain! The perusal of these pages will then only be a true and lasting benefit, if it serves to deepen our faith in the word of God, and to confirm in us a holy resolution to embrace for ourselves the salvation of Christ, and to tread in the footsteps of the holy apostles, until faith shall be exchanged for sight, and the cavils and doubts of unbelieving hearts in a world of sin, for the vision of Christ, in all the fulness of his majesty, and in all the beauty of his infinite love!

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF ACTS AND OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

The details of the following Table are, of course, in some degree conjectural. Those cases in which the dates, in the judgment of the compiler, are most clearly established are in small capitals; and the others, it is believed, are either correct, or within one year of the true time. Italics are used, to render the suocession of the epistles clearer to the eye. Their relative order, though not always their precise date, may be viewed as demonstratively ascertained.

A.D. 30.	April . . .	The crucifixion.
	(April, A.D. 33, Scaliger, Usher. March or April, A.D. 29, Ideler, Clinton, Browne, Benson.)	
	May . . .	The first Pentecost.
36.	June . . .	The death of Stephen.
37.	April . . .	The conversion of Saul.
	Pentecost . . .	First preaching of Saul.
40.	Pentecost . . .	St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem.
	September . . .	St. Peter at Joppa.
41.	Pentecost . . .	Conversion of Cornelius.
42.	February . . .	Barnabas at Antioch.
	Pentecost . . .	St. Paul at Antioch.
43.	Passover . . .	The prophecy of Agabus.
44.	PASSOVER . . .	ST. PAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM.
	May . . .	DEATH OF HEROD.
	Pentecost . . .	Return to Antioch.
45.	Pentecost . . .	First circuit of Paul and Barnabas begins.
	September . . .	Arrival at Perga.
46.	. . .	Circuit through Pisidia and Pamphilia.
47.	September . . .	Return to Antioch.
50.	Spring . . .	Pharisees at Antioch.
	Summer . . .	COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM.
	Autumn . . .	St. Peter and St. Mark at Antioch.
51.	Spring . . .	SECOND CIRCUIT BEGINS.
	September . . .	St. Paul preaches in Galatia.
52.	February . . .	St. Paul crosses from Troas into Europe.

- A.D. 52. May . . . St. Paul leaves Philippi.
 August . . . St. Paul at Athens.
 September . . . St. Paul at Corinth.
 November . . . FIRST EPISTLE TO THESSALONICA.
 53. Spring . . . *Second Epistle to Thessalonica.*
 Autumn . . . *Epistle to the Galatians.*
 54. January . . . Gallio, deputy of Achaia.
 April . . . St. Paul sails from Corinth.
 Pentecost . . . Fourth visit to Jerusalem.
 Autumn . . . Second circuit of Galatia.
 55. January . . . St. Paul arrives at Ephesus.
 April . . . Separation of the disciples.
 57. April . . . FIRST EPISTLE TO CORINTH.
 May . . . Departure from Ephesus.
 July . . . *Second Epistle to Corinth.*
 November . . . ARRIVAL AT CORINTH.
 58. February . . . *Epistle to the Romans.*
 Passover . . . ST. PAUL AT PHILIPPI.
 Pentecost . . . FIFTH VISIT TO JERUSALEM.
 60. Pentecost . . . Recall of Felix.
 August . . . Voyage to Rome begins.
 November . . . Shipwreck at Malta.
 61. February . . . Arrival at Rome.
 62. July . . . *Epistle to the Ephesians.*
 Epistle to the Colossians.
 Epistle to Philemon.
 63. February . . . *Epistle to the Philippians.*
 June . . . *Epistle to the Hebrews.*
 August . . . St. Paul in Crete.
 Winter . . . St. Paul at Colosse.
 64. Spring . . . St. Paul in Macedonia.
 Autumn . . . St. Paul at Corinth.
 First Epistle to Timothy.
 Epistle to Titus.
 Winter . . . St. Paul at Nicopolis.
 65. Spring . . . St. Paul in Dalmatia and at Troas.
 Summer . . . Apprehension in Asia.
 St. Paul a prisoner at Rome.
 Second Epistle to Timothy.
 66. Spring . . . St. Paul martyred at Rome.

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